The Catholic Historical Review

Volume XXIV OCTOBER, 1938 No. 3

CURRENT CRISES AND THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORY *

The question was bravely raised two years ago before this Association whether the Catholic historian was not called on to view all history in the light of divine love and of divine Providence as the expression of that love. And we were asked: "Since all history reveals God, unless we write history and teach history as a kind of contemplation, are we Catholics, are we even historians?"

This challenge is a most important one and we must face it when we raise the question of the perspective of history. As historians should we view history as Catholics? The question parallels, it would seem, the other often raised: Is there, can there be, should there be, a Catholic philosophy? Yesterday, in New York, the American Catholic Philosophical Association met with the Eastern branch of the American Philosophical Association. Did we present our own points of view in philosophy as Catholics? We did not. The data we presented were exclusively data which can be reached by unaided reason. If we had based our arguments on Revelation, our non-Catholic colleagues could have said: You are speaking as theologians, not as philosophers.

There is not, then, and there should not be, a Catholic philosophy. Catholics as philosophers should be merely philosophers; establish what can be established as to the ultimate nature of reality by

* Paper read at the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, December 31, 1937.

unaided reason. Granting, as we must, that Catholic philosophers in the Middle Ages did get clues from Revelation and that we may still do so, it remains nevertheless true that the data so established are philosophy only in so far as they can be established by reason.

For like reasons, may I venture to propose for your consideration that there cannot be and should not be Catholic history in the sense of research in, or teaching of history, as such, in terms of supernatural theology; in short, that history, as such, is a rational discipline?

Indeed, how could we dare to try to teach history, for instance, in terms of Providence? Creation implies conservation, and all conserved creation is moving toward its assigned end according to God's Wisdom, Holiness, Justice, and Mercy. St. Thomas (I, 22, 1) defines Providence: *ratio ordinandorum in finem.* God willed the existence of creatures endowed with free will. Their transgressions, therefore, do not violate God's ultimate will since He willed that they could transgress his law. Natural reason may establish all this, but unfortunately, only precariously. As Cardinal Mercier puts it:

> The relations between God and the world—the reconciliation of the divine immutability with the fact of creation, with the knowledge of things which come to pass in the course of time; of His all-powerful sovereignty with the dominion of our free-will, and, consequently, of the infallibility of His foreknowledge with the contingent nature of our free acts; of His perfect holiness and His perfect goodness with the existence of moral evil and its disastrous consequences for the guilty—all these are necessarily mysteries to the limited understanding of man.

How much more then are we helpless in disentangling the skeins of merits and demerits, of rewards and punishments, in the fabric of history. As the poet Mistral magnificently said: "Even Satan must constantly bring stones to the edifice of the Lord." But who of us can point out just when he brings a particular stone? What particular invasion was such a stone? Which particular massacre was deserved and how, and when, and by whom? Whose crimes are being punished in the uninterrupted horrors of the last twenty-five years, and who are the criminals among those who bring about

those horrors? What historian, Catholic or non-Catholic, shall dare to say, and construct his history in consequence?

Should we not then modestly conclude with Cardinal Mercier:

> The most we can do since we have only analogical ideas of God's activity, is to make ourselves thoroughly and rationally convinced of our present state of impotence, where it is a question of knowing God's nature and of understanding in positive ideas the reason and manner of His action. As St. Thomas says, the deepest knowledge of God must convince us that, when left to the light of natural reason, we are necessarily ignorant of His nature and His dealings with men.

What then becomes of history? Is it not clear that it should remain, like philosophy a rational discipline, since its limits like those of philosophy must be those of our limited natural powers of discovering objective truth?

This does not mean of course that there may not be religious meditations upon the course of history, just as there may well be, and should be, studies made on the borderland of philosophy and theology about our supernaturalized human nature. But such studies belong to what, it would seem, should be distinguished as Catholic wisdom, made up of what we can discover of reality by unaided reason and of what we know through Revelation. Witness St. Augustine and Bossuet. That such meditations might well be made in our Catholic schools, if we are certain that we are really worthy to speak in the name of Catholic wisdom, we may well grant. Yet Catholic scholarship could only be the loser if we could be accused of not recognizing, as distinct from such religious meditation, the special disciplines of philosophy and of history.

The papers presented before this Association, the many historical articles in our *Catholic Encyclopaedia* and in the *Catholic Dictionary* are there to witness that Catholic historians so understand their task.

The primary task of the historian is to ascertain facts. The non-Catholic historian may have prejudices which make it hard for him to write objectively about the history of Catholic institutions and of the Catholic centuries, and there are some fifteen exclusively such. Catholics too must make a special effort to understand other points of view than their own. But whether non-Catholics or

Catholics, in establishing facts, we shall be true historians only in proportion as we discipline ourselves to the objective determination and analysis of these facts.

The objective ascertaining of the facts, however, is only the first task of the historian. The day must come when we must interpret them, when we must plot the curve of their significance. According to what principle shall we plot them? If we recognize that history, like philosophy, is necessarily a rational discipline; and, further, that, in the light of natural reason we remain inevitably ignorant of the exact nature of God's dealings with men, where shall we find a haven above the flux of events from which to establish their perspective?

Let me submit for your discussion that we may find it in philosophy. What might be proposed, as opposed to a supernaturally theological, is a philosophical approach to the study of history.

How can we make this approach sufficiently inclusive. Evidently by reducing philosophy to its lowest terms. Philosophy's aim is the understanding of the ultimate nature of reality through unaided reason. Reducing the rational knowledge of the ultimate nature of reality to its lowest terms, we get the following: Ultimately there are only two alternatives of thought open to us: monism and dualism, the conception that there is only one order of reality, and the conception that there are two. Dualism recognizes other-worldliness and this-worldliness, God and the universe, with man the intelligent link between the universe and God. Monism merges God, man, and nature into one self-existing evolution. As these two conceptions are contradictories, no other can have appeared in history which is not reducible to one of them.

This audience need not be reminded how dualism and monism compare in the perspective of history. And yet it may not be useless to recall it, if only to wonder the more why so many need to be. A dualistic conception of reality was definitely established by Plato and minutely worked out by Aristotle. The Church Fathers utilized dualism often in its Platonic form, the medieval philosophers finally in its Aristotelian. The Renaissance and the Reformation did not disown it, and, in the eighteenth century, the influential Deists, as their name sufficiently indicates, still believed in two orders of existence.

The other alternative of thought, it is true, did not wholly disappear, but it was never wholly consistent and never victorious. The Stoics and Epicureans may be classed as materialistic monists, but they understood the laws of nature to be so fixed that they constituted an antecedent reality outside of man to which he should conform; while the Eclectics of the Roman empire had touches of Platonism, Seneca even speaking of Providence in dualistic terms. John Scotus Erigena and his disciples kept monism alive in the Middle Ages, but they only served to stimulate a Saint Albertus Magnus and a St. Thomas. Monism flared up again with the Renaissance but Aristotle if only by his *Poetics* dominated the neoclassical age. It was then not until Spinoza that monism was notably formulated anew, and not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that, with the French materialistic and German idealistic schools, it began to gain a decisive influence.

In short, for some twenty centuries, dualism was dominant, while monism has been in the ascendant only for little more than one century.

Here, we may come to a startling realization: we may see precisely how the opposition between monism and dualism may furnish us a principle according to which we may plot the perspective of history; and, at the same time, we may observe that the current crises enable us to catch sight of that perspective much more easily than could be done before our own time.

For as monism and dualism are contradictories, an ascendant monism, given the time, will necessarily destroy the civilization built on a foundation of dualism, and, on its ruins begin to erect its opposite. Today, we can undoubtedly gage the perspective of history better than was hitherto possible, because the hundred years that have now elapsed since monism began to penetrate influential circles are just about long enough for its consequences to have worked themselves out in all domains.

If there is only one order of existence, as the monist would have it, then there is no God distinct from man and nature, their Creator and end. The idea of personal immortality must be given up and the religions of the western world, Protestantism in so far as it still retains anything of the Christian tradition, and Catholicism,

must be considered impostures. The individual sacredness of the human person, with corresponding inalienable rights, likewise disappears and the way is paved for the totalitarian state. If reality is purely a becoming, realizing itself through struggle, might makes right and any means may be used to attain supremacy whether in the economic or political field or in international relations. If there is no antecedent righteousness in the mind and will of a God which we should aim to discover, we are left to make our own morality; and whether we say, with the pragmatist, that ideas are true when they work to our satisfaction, or, with the instrumentalist, when they work for the social good, our truth remains relative to the flux of total change in which we have immersed ourselves by merging God, man, and nature; and that flux includes the appetites, emotions, and fancies of the racketeer or atheistic communist, as well as of the liberal humanitarian. Monism must remain morally helpless in its subjectivism.

History has of course other aspects than the working out of philosophical principles. Geographic, racial, economic factors enter in, and all products of unpredictable human activity and intelligence or lack of it. In the West, the different stages of development of the northern races and of those around the Mediterranean basin were not levelled for a thousand years. Dislocations into defensive feudal domains yielded but slowly to reconstruction into kingdoms or empires; so slowly that two of the most important were but recently unified, which may explain in part their present restlessness. The rise of the middle classes to prevalence over aristocracies of birth, in large national units, had to be achieved before democratic government could be possible. Universal suffrage is scarcely a century old even in this country, and, until its advent, the concerted revendications of the masses could scarcely be possible. The highest culture and standards of living reached by the race have always been the appanage of the few, even in the more advanced countries; and even to-day, in most, they are, scarcely available to all who have the capacity to achieve them. It would be interesting, if there were time, to try to sketch the perspective of all these currents which make up a civilization. Surely they would escape a theological approach. What part

Providence had in the development of the courtesy current so central in European manners, or in the scientific discoveries which ushered in the industrial revolution and transformed life in the twentieth century, could scarcely be established; nor, for that matter, could scientific progress be traced in detail to the beneficent influences of dualism. Indeed, it is no doubt greatly indebted to materialistic monism.

It all forms a very intriguing skein. The Middle Ages have been repeatedly pictured as bowed under the thraldom of the Church; yet, when we read their secular literature, we find much of it lyrically and immorally romantic, or else grossly coarse and anticlerical. The Renaissance has been enthusiastically painted as an age of emancipation; yet it killed the exuberance and creativeness of the Middle Age, and bent all art under the yoke of classical disciplines. Christian kings have shackled the Church, and secularizing ministers have unwittingly set her free. Some churchmen have led scandalous lives, and some materialists have been lay-saints. Who can account for all these contradictions in the long course of history?

Yet, underlying them all, the great basic truth remains. Over the centuries, civilization is revealed to have been determined by the fundamental concept each age and area had of reality, by what men thought their own nature to be. Througout the modern age, if we oppose the modern age to antiquity, we may trace the ascent of man as due to his conviction of the reality of two orders of existence, of an eternal righteousness above men and nations to which they should conform their acts, of an equality, and a fraternity, and a liberty before God. Out of slavery, out of serfdom, to the free towns and to the kingdoms of the Middle Ages which were proud to be but parts of Christendom, man has marched on to progress. When Christendom was first challenged in the civil domain by the medieval renaissance of Roman law, kings still acknowledged that they were bound by a law of justice higher than their own desire. When Christendom was finally shaken to its religious foundations by the principle of private interpretation of Revelation, the Protestant Churches struggled to keep the deposit of dualistic philosophy and Christian faith which they had learnt

at the knees of the Mother Church; in fact they but claimed to recover her own original tradition. And when out of their quarrels Deism arose, what was rejected was but the Christian defence of dualistic principles and not the principles themselves. The inalienable rights of man were still maintained as stemming from the Creator or from *l'Etre Suprême*. Thus the nineteenth century embarked upon the task of propagating liberty, equality, and fraternity before God on a purely philosophical basis. It is only these very days, in the light of our present crises, that we can know that it has failed; and that it has failed not only because our hold on any philosophical doctrine is necessarily precarious, but because, alongside this survival of dualism, coursed the strong current of idealistic and materialistic monism.

The monistic historian of our day hides this perspective, as the monistic philosopher hides the perspective of the history of thought. Both would have us believe that humanity was in thraldom till it caught the vision of a monistic reality and a monistic evolution. They both beg the question. We too would beg the question, as historians, if we sought to establish the course of history through an *a priori* use of the doctrine of Providence largely borrowed from Revelation.

But here, we may note a second and most significant feature of our perspective. Without begging the question, working strictly as historians, after a painstaking and objective plotting of the facts, through an a posteriori generalization, we are forced to recognize that dualism, as a matter of record, did not shape western civilization through its own power.

The Bishop of Rheims did not talk Plato or Aristotle to Clovis. He talked to him about an authoritative creed that was indeed dualistic since it proclaimed the Fatherhood of God and the sonship and brotherhood of man, but he told him also about a third order of existence, the order of grace in Jesus Christ, and he bade him, with the help of that grace, to keep His commandments. Past now were the days of the merely precarious philosophical hold on the existence of God, on personal immortality, on ethics that could insure the progress of man. Dualistic humanism was confirmed but it was supplemented. Translating the Gospel of Him who had

worked with His hands in Nazareth, the Church presently proclaimed the sacredness even of that manual labor which throughout antiquity had been the work of slaves; and the peoples of Europe started on their confident way toward the development of Christendom. That the actuality may have remained spotted, as we have admitted, literature reveals; but the cathedrals the medieval peoples built as marks of their joy in their faith, and of their pride in their Christian communes, are still there to challenge us; and, even more so, in these days of fiendishly ruthless war, do the words of the saintly king who closed the Christian age as St. Thomas completed his *Summa,* and the boy Dante walked the streets of Florence:

> Dear son, I advise you to strive to avoid war against every Christian, unless he has violated your rights. And, even if he has violated them, try in every way to recover your due without resort to war. And if war becomes inevitable, order that the poor who have done no harm be protected from damages to their fields, either by fire or otherwise, for it is better to make long sieges than to destroy the property of the people. Never begin war without being certain that your cause is reasonable and without having put it off as long as possible, and if your enemy asks for pardon, pardon him so as to please God.

Shortly after those words were written, the legacy of Christian international law, the popes were brought to Avignon and schism tore at Christian Europe, till, two centuries later, the magisterium of the Church was disowned. Would that Protestantism had held the sector of Christendom it insisted on taking over. Would that it at least had saved the dualistic conception of reality which made Christianity a fulfillment. But the record is there to show that in large measure, it did not. The disputes of the sects made a reversal to Deism a relief. In turn, as we recalled, Deism yielded before Pantheism, till idealistic monism challenged Protestantism to reinterpret its contradictory creeds in its own terms of the evolution of the absolute, and shot it through with modernism. Today, the monistic naturalist tells the Protestant that even modernism is outmoded, that civilization must be reorganized on an atheistic basis, here through class-struggle, there through race supremacy; while, everywhere, a subjective morality leaves every personal right at the mercy of ruthless force.

In the new perspective of history which the present crises thus project before us, may we not, objectively and a posteriori, only too readily read the lesson that philosophy did not by itself build up western civilization; that it did not even sustain itself at its highest point; that western civilization was reared under the magisterium of the Church; and that, in so far as that magisterium was rejected, there followed a rapid retrogression to the lower levels of pagan thought; till the all-precious notion of the nature of man as the intelligent link between the universe and God again became blurred, and the civilization of freemen which Christianity achieved is to-day in danger of destruction.

But, on the other hand, is it not also clear that we can understand this only, and that we can discuss it among all men only, by starting not with the theological but with the philosophical analysis of reality, if only because, so long as a distinctive human nature is denied, it is idle to speak of a supernaturalized human nature, and, in general, of the supernatural?

We are thus forced back to fundamentals. If we would rebuild a Christian commonwealth, we must again work at the defence of man, at the re-establishment of a dualistic humanism.

Yesterday, we could tell American non-Catholic philosophers that unless they stopped giving their whole attention to the European monistic schools, unless American philosophy became again dualistic, it must inevitably work for the undermining of American institutions so evidently grounded in dualism; and that, if they continued to distort the perspective of the history of thought by ignoring the dualistic tradition, their students would not even realize what they were doing.

To-day, may we not tell American non-Catholic historians that, unless they too let the facts speak for themselves, and recognize that Christianity, corroborating dualistic humanism, is at the heart of the growth of human freedom, they can only distort the perspective of social and political history, and leave their blinded students at the mercy of monistic propaganda?

Nor need we fear that we cannot get a hearing. Protestantism, taunted to relinquish the last shreds of its humanistic and Christian inheritance, is actually beginning to look towards us at least

for the dualistic philosophy that may give it back a foundation for Christian thought. For instance, an eminent Protestant leader wrote me some time ago:

> I believe with you that if we lose the distinction between the human and the sub-human, in a pantheistic monism, then all is lost. The monism which blurs and finally banishes all the distinctions which give the moral and spiritual and aesthetic life of man any real meaning, I regard as the foe which we must fight together. I find myself increasingly with the Neo-Thomists in a large number of matters. And I am sure that there are vast numbers of people in the Protestant churches who would agree with me in all these things.

While a prominent American philosopher, to whom the above challenge was presented, answered:

> I too feel the well-nigh desperate need of restoring the native American dualistic practical philosophy: objective standards with individual freedom, of course in proper limitations, as against the socialistic-communistic-materialistic-instrumentalist threat. I wish that we might have conferences clearing the air, giving at least mutual understanding of our positions. I wish too that we could diffuse a sounder knowledge of neo-scholasticism.

Ours then to-day is a great task; and that we may carry it out successfully, it would seem, is now the wistful wish of many not nominally of our fold, no doubt because they are newly enlightened, as we all well may be, by the current crises.

The more need then, that, as historians, we remain strictly historians; just as, as philosophers, we must be strictly philosophers. Objective philosophy and objective history cannot contradict theology. On the contrary, the more cautiously we continue to construct our philosophy and to establish and interpret our record of history in the light of natural reason, the more shall theology be revealed to be their corroborator.

We can only applaud the growing yearning among our young people to be supernaturally and even mystically theological, we can readily understand their impatience with mere philosophy. But we must not forget that ours is a midway estate, that we must get our knowledge of universals through particulars, that our comprehension must follow upon our findings, and that Revelation

itself must remain mysterious to us wherever it transcends our experience.

Nor does this mean that the Catholic historian may not find inspiration and comfort in his religion. For, whenever, in our humble searching after objective reality with our feeble human means, we feel discouraged; when we grow weak at the thought of the apparent triumph of evil; when, before what Cardinal Newman calls "the tokens so faint and broken of a superintending design", we are led to conclude with him, "all this is a vision to dizzy and appall; and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery which is absolutely beyond human solution"; then, indeed, may we find a refuge in meditation in the light of our Catholic wisdom, the more eagerly that, after exhausting our human capacities, we may do it legitimately. Lucifer may ever be at large, but he must constantly bring stones to the edifice of the Lord. Even though, alas, all history does not clearly reveal the divine pattern to natural reason; in our faith, we may find the full reassurance that the Providence of God cannot be defeated.

LOUIS J. A. MERCIER.

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF JERONIMO CASTILLO DE BOBADILLA

Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla, born in Medina del Campo in 1547, came of a family of the lesser Castilian nobility. He entered the University of Salamanca at an early age and devoted himself to the study of civil and canon law, the humanities, and the entire field of ancient learning. Distinguishing himself in his studies, he received the doctor's degree at the age of twenty-one. He then fixed his residence at the court, where, as an *abogado,* he undertook the practice of law.

The profession of law and of practical politics have seldom been more closely allied than in the Spain of Philip II, and it was inevitable that, with his undoubted ability and natural inclination toward things political, Castillo de Bobadilla should enter the field of government proper. During a period of twenty-four years he held royal office in various Castilian municipalities, serving for a portion of this time as *corregidor* in Soria and Guadalajara. Having ably performed the administrative duties in connection with the offices he held, he went to the court in a legal capacity. He was later appointed *fiscal* of the *Chancillería* of Valladolid by Philip III, and it is said that he remained in this office until his death, which occurred at Valladolid early in the seventeenth century.[1]

Castillo de Bobadilla was a man of the highest ideals and one of great personal integrity. An obedient servant of his sovereign, a firm believer in the divine nature of kingly office, convinced that God had assigned to Spain a special place and a high mission

[1] For very brief accounts of the life of Castillo de Bobadilla *cf.* Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca hispana nova; sive, Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD ad MDCLXXXIV floruere notitia* (Matriti, 1783-1788, 2 vols.), I, 571-572; *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrado, Europeo-Americana,* José Espasa y Hijos Editores (Barcelona), XII; and Ildefonso Rodríguez Fernández, *Historia de la muy noble, muy leale y coronada Villa de Medina del Campo, conforme a varios Documentos y Notas a ella pertinentes* (Madrid, 1903-1904), 854.

among the nations of the earth, a devout son of the Church, and possessed of an elevated conception of the dignity and responsibility of official position, he represents all that was best in the Spain of his time.

The political theories of Castillo de Bobadilla are set forth in his *Política para Corregidores* . . ., the first edition of which, dedicated to Philip II, was published in Madrid in 1597.[2] This work, of great literary merit, is of an eminently practical nature and expressly for practical ends. The high regard in which it was held by the jurists and officials who have followed its author is attested by their frequent references to it.

Although the *Política para Corregidores* . . . was designed primarily to serve as a guide for heads of *corregimientos* and other Castilian officials in the exercise of their governmental functions, there is necessarily much political philosophy, portions of it highly speculative, contained in it. While this philosophy in a sense is incidental, it is in the light of speculative theory that the nature of the institutions and offices treated and the practical duties of the officials concerned are considered. Theory and practice are, consequently, inevitably and inextricably interwoven.

Moreover, while the *Política para Corregidores* . . . is concerned fundamentally with local officials and subordinate governmental divisions, especially the *corregimiento*, the city and the district under its jurisdiction, the underlying concepts are vastly broader.

[2] The complete title of the work is *Política para Corregidores y Señores de Vassallos, en Tiempo de Paz y de Guerra, y para Juezes Eclesiásticos y Seglares, y de Sacas, Aduanas, y Residencias, y sus Oficiales: y para Regidores y Abogados, y del Valor de los Corregimientos, y Goviernos Realengos, y de las Ordenes.* The work as originally produced was almost immediately revised, and the second dition, "añadida y emendada por el autor," was published in Medina del Campo in 1608. The title of the first edition is as follows: *Política para Corregidores y Señores de Vassallos en Tiempo de Paz, y de Guerra: y para Perlados en lo Espiritual, y Temporal entre Legos, Juezes de Comisión, Regidores, Abogados, y otros Oficiales Públicos, y de las Jurisdicciones, Preeminencias, Residencias y Salarios dellos: y de lo tocante a las Ordenes y Cavalleros dellas.* A number of editions have appeared since 1608. The edition of 1750 (Amberes), "diligentamente corregida de muchas faltas que avia en las otras impressiones, y expurgada segun el expurgatorio del año MDXL," was used in the preparation of this paper.

From the point of view of theory the *corregidor* is in essence a king and the *corregimiento* a kingdom. As a result the theories set forth concerning the constitution of the lesser unit may in principle be applied to the greater. In like manner, the ideas expounded concerning the nature, duties, and obligations of the lesser office may in principal be considered identical with those of the higher.

Castillo de Bobadilla made no direct attempt to establish a logical and rationalized theory of government or a closed system of political philosophy. Thoroughly versed in legal, philosophical, religious, historical, and political writings from the earliest times, he drew concepts from a wide span of sources. Employing an eclectic method, he wove these concepts into the text where they would best serve the immediate practical purpose, and where they would be most efficacious in support of the specific thesis under discussion. Elements in the political thought of others and materials from systems of law, from history, from literature, and from the Holy Scriptures which illustrated or gave weight to his own concepts were utilized when and where expedient. A certain measure of inconsistency and incoherence inevitably resulted from this method of approach, for in his zeal to establish specific points he at times lost sight of principles enunciated elsewhere and adduced evidence contradictory to them. Notwithstanding, it is clear that he himself had evolved a rational, inclusive, and considered system of thought and that the concepts presented were set forth, in the main, in consonance with the pattern demanded by this system.

While it is true that he was not in the stricter sense an original thinker, Castillo de Bobadilla did not slavishly accept and reproduce the ideas of others. He speculated concerning the concepts which came before him, reformulating, adapting, synthesizing, and commenting when he felt this to be necessary. As a true Spaniard of his time, he supported doctrines which were thoroughly in accord with the principles of royal absolutism as conceived and practiced by Philip II and his successor, and he was completely orthodox in his religious beliefs. It appears reasonable to assume that he accurately reflects the political views of the two classes he

represented, the official and the legal, and that he is truly representative of his position, time, and place.[3]

I

The Nature of Authority and the "República."

Politics is "the good government of the city, which is of the same nature as all good government, and treats of and orders the corporal matters which concern the maintenance of order and the preservation of the well-being of men." Politics is the art of arts and the science of sciences, for of all these to rule well is the most difficult; and among all the activities of men, none requires so great ability as that of governing. To govern pertains to the king and hence is a royal art and science.

Ethics, although to be distinguished from politics, is closely allied, since the principles which guide men in their relations with one another and with their families apply also to the relations of those who govern with those subject to them. Economics, which concerns directly the ordering of the household and the government of the family, is an aid to politics.

The *república* is "a just government of many families and the regulation of their common life by superior authority."[4] In accord

[3] The materials for this paper have been drawn from the following sections of the *Política para Corregidores*...: Introduction; *Proemio; Libro* I, *Capítulos* I, II, III, V, IX, X, XV, XVII, XXI; *Libro* II, *Capítulos* I, II, III, IV, VI, VII, X, XIII, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXI; *Libro* III, *Capítulos* I, II, III, VIII, XII, XIII; *Libro* IV, *Capítulo* II; *Libro* V, *Capítulos* I, V, VI, X.

[4] The words by which Castillo defines the *república* are the following: "...a mi parecer *República* es un justo govierno de muchas familias y de lo comun a ellas, con superior autoridad." It will be noted that this definition is virtually a transliteration of that of Jean Bodin, who in his *Les Six Livres de la Republique* (Paris, 1577), *Livre* I, *Chapitre* I, defines the republic as follows: "Republique est un droit gouvernement de plusiers menages et de ce que leur est comun, avec puissance souveraine." In the first edition of the *Política para Corregidores*... Castillo de Bobadilla wrote of the *república* in these words, "...segun Bodino República es un justo govierno de muchas familias, y de lo comun a ellas con suprema autoridad." In this transliteration he employed *suprema* as the equivalent of *souveraine*. In his later definition he omits reference to Bodin, putting it forth as his own, and replaces *suprema* with *superior*. These alterations would seem to indicate that he considered

with natural law the *república* should have a ruler, since it is inconceivable that any state or people should be without a recognized head. Thus, all true government is founded upon justice and the governing agency is over and above, and not of, the governed.

In accord with ancient classification, there are three types of government, each with a degenerate form: aristocracy, polity, and monarchy. Aristocracy is to be defined as government by the learned and strong in liberty. If this form of government passes into the hands of ambitious men it degenerates into oligarchy. Polity is the government of the many and is characterized by liberty. If this liberty is converted into license, polity degenerates into democracy. Monarchy is the absolute government of a single just individual, and if this individual rules in disregard of justice monarchy becomes tyranny. The Venetian Republic is an example of an aristocracy, the Swiss Cantons constitute a polity, and the government of Spain represents the highest type of monarchy.

The *república* is an organic whole, bound together by common interest and endeavor. The whole is constituted of homogeneous units of varying size. These units are intrinsically of like nature and any of the lesser, through a process of natural development, may become the greater. Thus, through the union of the members of different families develop, with the passage of time, villages, towns, cities, provinces, kingdoms, and, finally, empires. The family is a city in miniature, and the city is a great family, and the individual himself is a microcosm, representing in a most minute degree the world and its activities. In the ultimate analysis the entire world may be considered to be a single community, or *república.* The community of interest among its citizens makes perfect the *república,* since all are members of one body and each individual in society stands in need of aid from the others. As the whole body is in a state of well-being when all of its members are in proper health and function harmoniously, so the *república* enjoys prosperity when the units of which it is constituted are well ordered.

that he had evolved a somewhat different concept from that of the French thinker and leads to speculation concerning the extent to which he may have grasped the latter's doctrine of sovereignty.

The exercise of all governing authority, whether over the family or over empire, is based upon the same fundamental principles and differs only in degree. The well-ordered family is the true image of the *república* and the just government of the former is the model of that of the latter. Domestic authority is analogous to imperial, and he who is virtuous in his person and who understands the government of his home, even if this be of ethics rather than of politics, can become a good ruler of the *república*. Conversely, he who does not understand the government of his home can never properly govern the state. Nor could he who lacks the capacity well to manage his own affairs ably manage those of others if placed in authority.

The *república* exists for the common good, well-being, and preservation of those of whom it is composed, and all government, whether of the family or of empire, and whether monarchy, polity, or aristocracy, has these objectives as its sole end. There are certain universal and immutable laws based on justice which underlie all government and which are adhered to and applied by whatever form and within whatever unit.

Religion and justice are the two fundamental pillars of the structure of the *república*. Without these no government could endure. Through religion and justice the small *república* becomes great and the great retains its power, and they constitute the basis of all governmental activity and of relationships within the state and between rulers. The *república* flourishes in proportion to the extent that justice exists within it, and its worth is measured with justice as a criterion. It was for the preservation of justice that government, law, and all coercive authority were established. No *república*, nor even a household, is possible where justice does not prevail, for kingdoms from which that quality is absent are but associations of robbers. Injustice is the death of the *república*, for where justice is lacking the community will soon cease to exist because of the utter wretchedness and disorder which will come into being.

God, as the omnipotent, perfect, universal, and eternal ruler and judge, is the source of all dominion, justice, and jurisdiction. All power, of whatever degree and nature, and by whomsoever

exercised, is of Him, for, "according to Solomon, St. Paul, St. Peter, and God Himself, not only the kings and great monarchs, but also judges, are ministers of God, and from Him they receive their offices and authority to determine justice." Further, "Cyrus, having conquered the Assyrians, declared, 'The Lord of Heaven gave me all of the kingdom of the earth,' and King Agrippa stated . . . to the rebel Hebrews, 'Believe me that without God it is impossible for any authority to exist.'" Rulers govern by the mandate of God and are His vicars and representatives, and empire and principality are divine grants.

Unjust and evil rulers hold authority from God in the same manner as do the just. As there are good and evil angels, the good for righteousness and the evil to impose justice and punishment on the iniquitous, so are there good rulers to bring well-being to their subjects and evil rulers to chastise their peoples for their sins. God does not approve of the acts of these evil rulers, but suffers them to govern in accord with His higher purposes. The words addressed by Christ to Pontius Pilate, "Thou shouldst not have any power against me, unless it were given thee from above" sustains this thesis.

Implicit obedience is due to all in authority under divine law, to the evil as well as to the good, and resistance, even in the face of the greatest injustice, is not permissible. People may not do so much as complain of evil rulers, as they themselves through their iniquities have caused God to place such governors over them to mete out punishment. Obedience, reverence, and respect are owed to the office and authority, which are eternal, and not to the person. Christ had regard for the prelacy of Caiaphas and the governorship of Pilate, not to the individuals.

Men are by nature unequal. All do not possess the same self-sufficiency, the same intelligence, the same strength, nor the same virtue. Some are designed to rule, while others are fitted to serve. It is in accord with the principles of divine and natural law and in the interest of the people as a whole that those of superior ability, virtue, strength, and wisdom should govern. Wisdom is an outstanding quality in the ruler, and in the ideal *república* philoso-

phers would be kings and kings, philosophers. That some be superior is divinely ordained, for

> as the infinite God, all-wise and perfectly just, orders the angels, so the angels govern men, and men the animals. In like manner, the soul governs the body, the heavens govern the earth, and the reason governs the appetite. In the heavens exist a hierarchy of angels, archangels and other spirits, and these spirits are unequal, if not actually different in grade and dignity. . . . It is the eternal law of nature that the inferior subject itself to the superior. . . . Hence, in order to secure the best administration on earth by the ministers of God and to maintain concord among men, there was, and is, need for diversity of type and superiority of some over others. It is essential that the superior precede the inferior and that the greater be reverenced by the lesser [the former] at the same time bestowing upon [the latter] their love.

It is necessary under natural law, moreover, that the weak be protected by the strong, that the poor be succored by the rich, and that the unintelligent be counselled by the intelligent. The superior, who by their quality and virtue are ordained to rule, are bound under natural law to work in every possible manner to protect and secure the welfare of those over whom they justly wield authority.

Those who possess the requisite qualities are under obligation by divine and human law to serve in places of authority. One of the greatest obstacles to proper government is to be found in the fact that certain individuals of superior station do not wish to comply with the obligations to society engendered by their endowments and position. Public office is a cross, and he who exercises it must divest himself of all personal interest and must permit himself to be motivated solely by love of others, as did Christ Himself.

Until the Deluge God Himself governed directly and without intermediaries. There existed no earthly rulers or jurisdictions. He placed Adam and Eve in Paradise, which was established as their *república,* subjected all animals to them, and provided them with the necessities of life. Laws and precepts were given by God providing that our common ancestors might eat of all fruits save those of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, that Adam should take Eve as his wife, and that they should dwell in Paradise.

When Adam and Eve transgressed these laws He judged them and found them guilty of disobedience, committing their punishment to the Archangel Gabriel. This action constituted the origin of criminal process. In like manner He later judged Cain and Lamech.

During the earliest period and for a certain time after the fall of man, humans lived together simply and in a state of comparative innocence. The spirit of goodness reigned, a state of equality existed, there was an abundance of all things, and everything was done for the common welfare in a spirit of cooperation. When evil individuals, of whom there were but few, disturbed the peaceful relations of men, the majority banded together to resist and chastise the offenders. This common action constituted natural defense, and, it is to be assumed, was based on natural justice. There was as yet no formally established government or coercive authority of any type, and contracts regulating the relations of men, wars, servitude, and property had not made their appearance.

As the people of the earth increased in numbers malice became prevalent and the ambitions and efforts of some to acquire power tended to make of the human community a company of beasts. To remedy this condition artificial defense, consisting of coercive authority and residing in principality and jurisdiction, was introduced under the law of nations. Civil law and magistrates were called into existence and wars, contracts, servitude, and property came into being.

Cain gathered all people together that they might enjoy the advantages of common life and founded the first city, Enos, on the slopes of Mount Lebanon. This city and the others subsequently founded by Cain were surrounded with walls. Cain introduced custom to guide the people, and this was later confirmed by the constitutions given by Moses.

At the time of the Deluge, God instituted Noah as the first earthly governor or king, in the true sense of the word, and bestowed upon him ecclesiastical and temporal authority over the entire world, directing him to abide in justice. Kingship thus came into being. Noah compelled the obedience of all men through a judicious combination of religion and justice, and his sons after him suc-

ceeded to his authority. Nimrod by force soon reduced to submission all the peoples of the earth and ruled the entire world. With his action the monarchical form of government in the full sense came into existence. Thus there was but a single universal jurisdiction, and all government was in the hands of one individual. This situation was in accord with the law of nations.

As time went on, rulers found it impossible to exercise control over their extensive domains without aid and appointed representatives to govern in their names. This separation of jurisdiction, differentiation of magistracy, and division of territory for administrative purposes was introduced under civil law. The jurisdictions and offices thus created depend upon the monarch and custom. In accord with the earlier condition of universal jurisdiction, however, the domain of the ruler remains indivisible and inalienable by the law of nations.

As God is one in substance and nature, monarchy, the rule of one, is the most perfect form of government, for it more closely than any other approaches divine unity. Furthermore, all members of the body are subject to the control of a single unit, the mind, and, similarly, the government of one individual is of greater excellence than any other type of governmental headship. A *república* with divided authority is not stable, and a single head is adequate as well as preferable. A *república* with two executive heads would be an inconceivable monster.

The course of history bears out the judgment that true monarchy is the most perfect form of government, for

> if we consider History we find that monarchies have reached the greatest heights and that they are more ancient than other forms. The Roman *República* was ruled by kings and by consuls, but it did not achieve world dominion until it was constituted into a monarchy under Augustus. This is the form of government which Nimrod introduced. . . .

In the ultimate analysis monarchy in its full meaning connotes world empire and the absolute government of all peoples by a single ruler.

II

The Spiritual and the Temporal Powers

> During the first four days of the Creation God placed two great lights in the firmament, the Sun, which is the greater and which lights the day, and the Moon, which is the lesser and which gives light by night. In the same manner, for the firmament of the Universal Church God created two great lights, two dignities. One is the pontifical authority, which is the greater and illuminates the things of light, that is, things spiritual. The other is the royal authority, which is the lesser and presides over the things of darkness, or temporal matters. Both lights are in the firmament of the Universal Church. These two powers may also be symbolized by the two swords which the disciples presented to Christ Our Lord, one temporal and the other spiritual.

The spiritual authority is consequently superior to and of greater dignity than the royal, for ecclesiastical officials possess jurisdiction over spiritual matters, which are of a higher order than the temporal over which kings have control. Ecclesiastics represent God in a more perfect manner than do lay magistrates, and as a result the members of the hierarchy of the Church are of greater excellence than secular authorities. They may be considered to be the fathers and tutors of temporal officials. The bishop's crozier is the symbol of the highest of all authority.

Both powers, each in its sphere, are essential to mankind to control the two aspects of life, as Christ Himself indicated by approving of the temporal sword which was presented to Him by the disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane. Our Lord Himself exercised secular authority, when, as Emperor, He purged the Temple of the money-changers and when He freed the woman taken in adultery.

Christ definitely conferred upon St. Peter both the spiritual and the temporal power which He held when He gave to him the keys of heavenly and terrestial empire and when He declared to Him, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven." This grant connoted the bestowal of complete governmental authority. Moreover, the sword wielded by St.

Peter against the servant of the High Priest was that of temporal power, and when Christ commanded him, "Put up again thy sword into its place," He placed it in his permanent possession, and with it secular authority in its entirety. When He later directed to him the words, "Feed my sheep," He did not distinguish between the spiritual and the temporal power, thus indicating that no limits were placed upon the plenitude of the authority delegated.

As possessor of the keys St. Peter actually exercised supreme spiritual and secular authority divinely bestowed upon him, and at first Bishop of Rome and first occupant of the Holy See he transmitted both swords to his successors to hold and wield for all time. Thus, the Pope possesses the fullness of spiritual and temporal authority.

Although the plentitude of spiritual and temporal power resides in the Pope and the Church by direct divine grant, the spiritual arm does not wield immediate secular authority except under extraordinary circumstances. The pope and the Church in normal circumstances confine their authority to spiritual matters, their true sphere, and delegate to temporal rulers and magistrates authority to govern in secular matters. The power of secular authority therefore derives from God indirectly through the spiritual. Through the spiritual the temporal power receives and wields its authority.

The temporal power is consequently subordinate to the spiritual. In spiritual matters temporal authorities owe implicit obedience to the spiritual, which in turn owe obedience to God, and in earthly matters the secular authorities are the servants of the spiritual to do their bidding. The sword of temporal power is unsheathed by the king at the behest of the spiritual to be employed in the interests of religion and in the defence of the Church. This service of the spiritual power by the temporal and the subordination of the latter to the former are implied in the command given by Christ to St. Peter to return the sword of secular authority to its sheath. The bishop commands the king in matters of the Faith and in such matters the king is his subject.

With regard to the actual exercise of authority,

> the secular and spiritual powers are distinct . . . in purpose, and the pontifical and imperial authorities cannot in practice be identified. The Supreme Pontiff is concerned with things spiritual and the immediate and direct regulation of such affairs, and while the jurisdiction over temporal matters and things secular concern him with respect to their institution and authority, he is not concerned with the direct jurisdiction over temporal activities except in certain cases.

Each power is independent in practice, and to a certain degree the two authorities are mutually exclusive. Under normal circumstances each should permit to the other untrammeled exercise of authority within its own sphere. Thus, with temporal authority once delegated, the pope and the Church may not intervene in temporal affairs except on spiritual grounds and for spiritual ends, and the secular power may not interpose its authority except under highly specialized circumstances.

Both powers have a common aim, the service of God and the advancement of His Kingdom. Perfect harmony and coordination consequently, should exist between them, and each should respect the other. The king or other lay authority should not infringe upon the rights of the pontiff, nor should the Head of the Church attempt to usurp the authority of the secular ruler or other minister of government. The temporal authority should at all times be prepared to obey the power from which it immediately draws its authority, enforcing and complying with the decrees and ordinances of the Church, and it is the duty of the former to protect the latter, both the Church as a whole and her individual members. On their part, in exclusively temporal affairs, ecclesiastical officials owe obedience to the king. Complete harmony is essential,

> for the total destruction of the *república* results from a conflict of functions . . . and from the desire of each authority to wield, exercise, and employ both swords, not rendering to Caesar that which is of Caesar, nor to God that which is of God. . . .

Before the advent of Christ, which was followed by the establishment of the Holy See, there existed no possibility of rivalry between the two arms.

The need of cooperation between the spiritual power and the secular is clearly demonstrated by the history of the Hebrews.

Among the people of Israel sacerdotal and governmental functions were united in a single individual, as was the case under the leadership of Noah, Moses, and Samuel. When they were ruled by kings who were not at the same time priests, or by kings who refused the counsel of spiritual ministers, disaster overcame the nation, and it was not until priestly kings again governed that order and well-being were restored. The least unsuccessful of the rulers who did not unite in themselves sacerdotal and royal authority, Saul and David, were anointed by priests.

The circumstances in which the spiritual power may intervene in temporal affairs have their origins in conditions which are detrimental to the community of Christians and which demand the interposition of the pope for the welfare of all. Intervention should take place only under such circumstances because

> the temporal sword resides in princes and kings, notwithstanding the fact that it is held by the pope in a more excellent and more noble manner, . . . that is to say, for the disposition and correction of the former.

When conditions warrant, the pope may transfer power from one people to another, depose a ruler for tyranny, injustice, or schism and assign his realms to another, and employ the weapon of excommunication against a prince. He does not possess the authority, however, to intervene in controversies between rulers or between lords and vassals in matters of inheritance and succession. Specific examples of justified interposition on the part of the pope are the assignment of the Line of Demarcation by Alexander VI and the sanction given by Pius V to the invasion of England for the purpose of dispossessing Elizabeth Tudor. The bishop as representative of the pope may excommunicate the king within his diocese and may judge and proceed against him in spiritual matters.

The king may remove from his bishopric one who has obtained his see through simony and may intervene in ecclesiastical matters to enforce discipline under extreme circumstances. In the case of vacant bishoprics he may take steps to fill the office. He may not, however, convoke church councils, as the authority to convene such bodies pertains solely to the pope.

Ecclesiastical officials, their property, and all holdings of the Church are exempt and immune from all taxes and tributes. Taxes on members of the clergy or on Church property, even though imposed by the highest secular authority, are invalid. This exemption of the Church and the clergy from all taxation is according to natural and divine, civil and canon law, for the earth is of God and the Church is His highest terrestrial agency.

III

Justice, Law and Custom

Justice in the abstract sense is the "power of God" and proceeds from Him as the perfect judge and omnipotent ruler. In its application to earthly government justice derives from the king as the representative of God and is

> the good and rightful government of the *corregidor* [ruler] for the purpose of protecting the people in well-being, to free them from evil, to render to each that which is his due, and to distinguish that which is just from that which is unjust in accord with the laws.

Or, in the words of Ulpian, justice is "the constant and perpetual will to give to each that which is his." To render each his due is of polity and constitutes universal justice.

Justice is founded upon reason and is to be regarded as the mistress of life, the extirpator of vice, and the source of peace. Justice has as its purpose correction and chastisement when necessary. Although justice must upon occasion be severe, its end is not to destroy. It was for the achievement of justice that the state was brought into existence, and without it the *república* cannot endure. If justice should fail to reprove and repress the antagonism arising from unbridled license, concord, and with it the human community, would disappear from the earth. Christian faith is essential to the consummation of justice, and justice is necessary for individual salvation. In the administration of justice each is to be dealt with according to his merits; the virtuous are to be rewarded, the evil are to be punished, and faith is to be kept with all. When these objectives are attained, the harmony essential to good government has been achieved.

Justice is natural in men and in itself includes and is the source of all virtue. The companion virtues of justice are piety, liberality, conscience, religious-mindedness, righteousness, and humility. Justice can exist solely in a community which is possessed of virtue and which seeks order and peace, cleaves to the True Faith, and holds allegiance to the greater unit, the nation. It is impossible for justice to exist among robbers, even though they be bound together under a compact, since the objective of such a group is the evil one of theft and pillage. Nor can justice exist among animals, which lack reason.

There are, in accord with the early political thinkers, four types of justice: divine, natural, civil, and judicial. These four types may be classified under universal and particular justice. Particular justice is identical with equity, for through it men, as such and as rational beings, employ reason in their relations with one another, acting toward their fellows in accord with the broad principles of justice.

The laws or precepts given by God for the guidance of Adam and Eve and the principles in accordance with which He directly governed the earth until the Deluge were those of divine and natural, or universal, justice. Under the rulers appointed by God after the Deluge, Noah, Moses, and the anointed kings of Israel, the principles of divine and natural justice remained those under which government was administered. The leaders of the people and kings who governed during this general period as the direct representatives of God personally applied the universal principles of justice as occasion arose.

Since people from very ancient times were grouped into towns to secure the benefit of community life, and because the nature of men soon led them to seek their own ends, the development of law became necessary that the welfare of the whole might be preserved, individual ambition curbed, and public order maintained. The law which thus became necessary, human governors and formal law-making agencies not as yet having come into existence, is the law of nations. The law of nations, the principles of which are apprehended by human reason, to the extent that it is rational, is derived from natural and divine law. Because of the

limitations of the human intellect, however, not all of the elements of natural and divine law are present in the law of nations, and because of this human fallibility the complete identification of the law of nations and natural and divine law is impossible. Under the law of nations were introduced dominion, the superiority of one individual over another,[5] just war, property,[6] and the contracts by which human relations are created or regulated. There is no precise knowledge as to the time at which the law of nations came into being.

Written law is that of particular peoples and is promulgated by individual law-givers. This type of law has as its objective the regulation of human relationships, that men may live together in concord and that they refrain from inflicting harm on one another, the preservation of public order and peace, and the extirpation of evil. It is not primarily for the just, but rather to curb the iniquitous.

Written law was first established among the Hebrews, being given by God in the form of the Decalogue. The Phoenicians and Egyptians adapted the laws of the Hebrews, translating them into their own languages. From the Phoenicians and Egyptians the

[5] Castillo de Bobadilla does not treat explicitly of the institution of slavery as such. The justification of slavery, however, would appear to be implicit in the doctrine of the natural superiority of some and the inferiority of others under divine law, and the institution would seem to be included in the servitude introduced and existing under the law of nations.

[6] Castillo de Bobadilla discusses private property in treating of the communism of the Republic of Plato. Private property, established under the law of nations, is approved by divine law and is in accord with reason. The institution is sanctioned by God and by Christ and is necessary to secular life. It is one of the most fundamental bases of civilization and progress, promoting enterprise, order, and stability, and rendering possible good works and charity. Individual possession is essential, that each may have an interest in and protect that which is justly his. No matter how admirable the ideal of virtue as its own reward may be, it is impossible of attainment, human nature being what it is, and the stimulus of substantial recompense in the form of personal possession of property is necessary. In the absence of property, agriculture, commerce, and industry would decay, and humanitarianism and philanthropy would disappear. The nature of man, moreover, makes impossible common possession and administration of goods, and to attempt such would lead inevitably to confusion, discord, strife, and disorder. The covetous would be forever seeking more than their just due.

people of Spain received the laws of the Hebrews, as did the Greeks at a much later date. The early Greek law-givers translated the laws which originated among the Hebrews and promulgated them for their own people. This same process took place among other nations. Thus, written law had its origin with the Hebrews, who received it directly from God and from them it was adopted by other peoples.

True laws emanate from God through the king as the earthly source of justice, and where law rules God Himself governs. The decrees and orders issued by a just ruler are, as it were, divine commands, and they in all cases have the force of law.

Each nation should have the laws which best meet its specific needs, and each individual code must lend itself to the good government of the people it regulates. Written laws must be accommodated to the mass of the people and an average must be sought. They may be likened to wax, which it is possible to mold conformable to demands.

It is impossible that written laws be absolutely inflexible, and, if it were possible, such would be intolerable. Although severe enforcement of the law is necessary under certain circumstances, it is the spirit rather than the letter which is to be observed, as "the letter of the law is the extreme of injustice." Each specific law must be applied in separate instances through the medium of reason. Equity, a mean consisting in virtuous moderation, and the principles of which are universal and apprehended through reason, should prevail at all times in the application of law.

Custom, usage, and beliefs universal among peoples are of great authority and binding force. Usage comes into being and exists by common consent and precedes the development of custom, which arises from it as a fundamental basis. Custom is based on natural law, is the "crystallization of usage," and exists by general recognition and acceptance.

Introduced by Cain, custom existed prior to civil law. Existing through general recognition, and receiving the sanction of the king, it is of great importance. It does not differ from written law and statute in effect, but only in form and method, as ancient practices and sanctions approved by those who observe and live under them

are of the same nature as law. The greater portion of the world is governed by it, and it suffices "to endow with civil and criminal jurisdiction him who otherwise possesses no such authority." Its authority and weight are such that reverence is owed to it as to a mother. All, including the king, are bound by it.

Ten years are sufficient to establish as custom a usage which does not contravene law, while forty years are necessary to establish as custom a usage which is contrary to law. Custom which upon its introduction is opposed to law affects only those by whom it was established and does not circumscribe the rights of individuals as they existed before the usage made its appearance. Except in extraordinary circumstances, custom is not established by the acts of individuals, but by those of an entire people, by the greater part of them, or by a representative assembly. A custom may be superseded or rendered void by contrary acts equal or greater in number and weight which are observed over a period equal to or greater than that over which it was recognized, and may be abolished by specifically designed royal legislation. A single contrary act or legal decision does not abolish a legitimate and established custom.

Based on natural law, custom and usage possess greater force than and are superior to civil law and royal legislation and may alter, abrogate, or supersede these latter. With custom as a guide, the magistrate may alter civil law.

The general principles which apply to custom and usage apply to a somewhat more limited degree to beliefs common to the people. They also possess the force of law, and the magistrate should guide his action by them.

Good practices also possess a certain force, and the magistrate should familiarize himself with those of the people over whom he possesses jurisdiction that he may equitably administer justice. Evil practices should be eradicated immediately to prevent them from becoming widely accepted.

IV

The King

Kings, who receive their authority from God through the agency of the pope, are the supreme and absolute rulers of the temporal states over which they are placed. They are

> constituted by God to preside over the earth for Him and to preserve all in order and concord. They are His ministers and are the best among men in lineage and the most able. . . . For this reason St. Paul declared temporal lords and those who govern and order the lives of men, leading them toward their natural end, coadjutors of God. . . .

They are created to serve God, and as His vicars they are masters of the earth to defend things temporal and spiritual. All temporal power and dominion and public estate reside in them, and authority, justice, law, dignity, and magistracy flow from them as from a fountain. They are the heads of their states and their subjects are their members. The people possess no authority or jurisdiction whatsoever.[7]

By civil, canon, and royal law the king may be considered God on earth. He is judge of judges and a rational and political being, and he may dispose as he will. Of himself he determines truth and necessity, which need not be demonstrable or capable of proof to any other. He may act without seeking counsel, and by divine and natural law may levy taxes to meet emergencies. He is the creator and interpreter of law, and, indeed, is in actuality a speaking law. His mandates are equivalent to divine commands. He is responsible to God alone, and no person may direct to him the words, "Why dost thou act thus?" No earthly agency possesses authority to judge him, and, if he of his own will desires to submit himself to judgment, he himself designates those by whom he is to be judged. By divine law his vassals, officers, and subjects owe him implicit and unquestioning obedience and should not only honor and reverence, but adore him. The individual who displays lack of respect for the king holds God in contempt, and disobedience may be considered to be sacrilege. The religious faith of the people is tested by their submissiveness to authority. Obedience to law is obedience to the royal will, and to carry out the law is to consummate the purpose of the ruler, which is embodied in it.

[7] Approached from a historical point of view, the plenitude of authority was conferred upon the king through the *lex regia* by which the Roman people completely and irrevocably abdicated all power.

The heart of the king is in the hand of God, by which it is ruled, and the purpose and intent of the ruler have their origin in the will of the Creator. Consequently, his will is benevolent, his purpose is just, and his every act is motivated by truth and righteousness. To appeal to him is to appeal to justice itself. His interest is in accord with justice and as a result his interest and necessity are those of his people.

The king is superior in quality and is a natural lord.[8] He is supreme in virtue, wisdom, goodness, and conscience, and is by inherent nature just. As he is a true Christian, religion implants in his heart the fear of wrong-doing. The title "Lord" rightly pertains only to God and to the king, and no one may with truth declare, "I am equal in nobility with the king." Through the abundance of his nobility he may ennoble others, and by his virtue the *república* is conserved.

The all-embracing mission of the king is the administration of justice, the highest of all temporal functions, and it is for that purpose that God placed him in authority. His charge is "the preservation of the citizens in peace and order, the conquest of their enemies, and the defence of the True Faith," and his objective is the present and future well-being of all his subjects and the prosperity of his realms. The plenitude of secular authority vested in him is directed toward good government. In fulfilling his mission he bestows the greatest of blessings on his people.

Although the king is supreme and absolute, he may not be arbitrary. He must govern justly in accord with the will of God, justice, natural, divine and civil law, the law of nations, custom, reason, conscience, and religion. The law is above the king; the king is not above the law, for where law rules God himself governs.

[8] The term natural lord (*señor natural*) appears with considerable frequency in Spanish law, legal and administrative documents, and historical literature. It pertains primarily to the king, but applies also to *señores de vasallos*. It seems to have been widely current and generally understood in Mediaeval and Renaissance Spain. *Señor natural* appears to connote a king or *Señor de vasallos* who, of superior quality and station by birth, and by nature superior in virtue and righteousness, receives and occupies his position legitimately and exercises his authority justly, being recognized and accepted by all. The term was also employed in the Indies to apply to the greater and lesser Indian rulers and lords.

Because of his nature and station the king will of his own volition observe these principles and will bind himself under them in all of his acts. He is obliged, also, to fulfill that to which he agrees and to abide by contracts, and he may not take cognizance of cases which concern himself. In subjecting himself to law, not only that given by himself, but that of his predecessors, and in maintaining his integrity, he provides a just example to his subjects. His integrity is a potent force in the preservation of equilibrium between the classes within the realm and in maintaining the confidence of other princes and nations.

As giver of law the king states and interprets the eternal principles of higher law and justice. He cannot legislate in contradiction to such law, or in contravention of religion, custom, or conscience. Nor can he decree in violation of established rights and privileges. If he issues law contrary to his obligations it is to be assumed that such is not his true intent, and such legislation is to be disregarded. The law given by the ruler must be in accord with the character of his subjects and in consonance with the needs of the majority.

In seeking the common good the king must prefer the welfare of his people to his own, and, bearing in mind that all are of one body, he will not favor individuals or groups at the expense of the whole. He will render justice with the utmost impartiality alike to rich and poor, nobles and commoners. He must seek an equitable balance among his subjects, harmonizing the will of the greater with that of the lesser, granting reward according to merit and punishing when necessary, maintaining goodness, and rigorously extirpating evil.

The king should govern his people as a father does his family, compelling through paternal love. The title "Father of his Country" is the most honorable which is to be bestowed upon a ruler. He will govern through wisdom and law and by instilling reverence and respect rather than through fear and force. He will be benign toward all and indulgent toward none, slow to wrath and reasonable in clemency, righteous in success and constant in adversity, equitable toward all and harsh toward none. He will protect the weak and helpless, preserve good laws and customs, and

will lead his people into the paths of true piety. Equity is the basis of his administration. As God is merciful, so must the king, as His representative, be merciful. Cruelty is contrary to human nature, just as compassion is a part of it. Despite the need for compassion, however, the king must be severe when circumstances demand. Severity at times becomes essential to sustain the lives of the people, preserve peace, and maintain the community.

Peace is one of the objectives of the ruler and constitutes one of the greatest benefits of man. The king is obligated to preserve peace to the extent possible and may conduct war only in defence of the state and to maintain tranquility and order. To prevent subjugation by other peoples trained in arms, notwithstanding, the defences of the realm must be maintained strong. The protection of the Church, that is, of religion, is one of the outstanding obligations of the ruler, and he will do all in his power to observe this duty. The Catholic Faith is the source of the strength of the Spanish monarchy.

The king has complete control over those ennobled by him and over his officials, and they are directly accountable to him in all things. Officers of state are the vicars of the ruler and may be regarded as members of his body. As the public welfare depends to a great degree upon the quality of the magistrates, the king must exercise the utmost care to select only the virtuous, wise and just.

While it is inconceivable that such could be, if the ruler governs unjustly and in contravention of the laws of God and man, not having as his purpose the welfare of his state and the good of his subjects, and acting evilly according to his arbitrary wishes, he becomes a tyrant and thereby, in actuality and through law, forfeits his title and vacates his throne. The sole agency which may of its own authority act against the tyrant is the Church, with the supreme pontiff at her head. As recipient of the fullness of spiritual and temporal power directly from God, the pope, by whom the authority of the ruler is delegated, may, on spiritual grounds and for spiritual ends, depose him and assign his lands to another. God Himself may destroy the tyrant, or, working through involuntary human agency, may remove him through permitting a rebellion of vassals or invasion from beyond the limits of his realm, or

through granting success to his enemies. There exists no organ of the state which may depose a ruler, and the people, who owe blind obedience as a religious duty, no matter how unjust or evil he may be, are forbidden to rebel or act in any manner against their king, either collectively or as individuals.[9]

ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN.

[9] Upon the throne becoming vacant, however, and in the absence of a legitimate successor, the Estates are empowered to elect a King.

SOME NEGLECTED ASPECTS IN THE HISTORY OF PENANCE *

When this conference was first arranged, it was planned to devote it to summarizing the results of recent research on the history of penance, from about A. D. 500 to about 1100. Later, however, it was found advisable to narrow down the subject. Hence, this paper will concentrate upon certain aspects of penitential history in the period mentioned, emphasizing those which possess particular interest for the history of mediaeval civilization. Penance in the Middle Ages had broad relations with many other phases of life, secular as well as ecclesiastical. The investigation of such relationships has led to a number of discoveries, that are not only interesting in themselves, but which illuminate many other pages of medieval history. But many of these facts are not yet sufficiently well known, either in this country or abroad; and a considerable amount of pioneer work is needed, to disseminate the facts already discovered and to investigate a number of remaining problems in the field.

Standard histories of civilization and of the Middle Ages, or even of the Church, usually dismiss the history of penance with a few words, which omit many essential facts.[1] On the other

* Paper read at a Luncheon Conference at the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, December 29, 1937.

[1] J. H. Robinson, *History of Western Europe* (rev. ed., 2 vols., 1924), I, 235-236 and part of 234, is a longer treatment than is usual in standard college manuals. Cf. the omission of penance in L. Thorndike, *Short History of Civilization* (New York, 1926); a short, vague paragraph on that sacrament in D. C. Munro and R. J. Sontag, *The Middle Ages* (rev. ed., New York, 1928), 138; and scattered references in L. Thorndike, *History of Mediaeval Europe, passim*. Comparison of these manuals with many other college textbooks in the history of civilization or of the Middle Ages reveals a similar situation, while many textbooks contain serious misstatements on the history of penance. For comments on the Church histories, see T. P. Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.* (New York, 1923), 207 *sqq*.

hand, such books devote considerable space to the interdict and the ban of excommunication.[2] But these were extraordinary measures, and their employment restricted to emergencies; while penance[3] was the ordinary means of ecclesiastical discipline, and in constant use. Consequently, penance vitally affected millions of people, who would never be subjected to the interdict, nor to the ban of excommunication.

The relative neglect of mediaeval penance by modern historians does not allow for the interweaving of that discipline with many other threads in the fabric of mediaeval civilization. These broad relationships have received some attention from Dr. Nicholas Paulus,[4] the great Catholic authority on the history of indulgences; from the late Paul Fournier,[5] famous historian of the canon law; from Professor J. T. McNeill,[6] of the University of Chicago; and much more fully in my own researches. In such researches, one becomes deeply indebted to the works of various modern authorities on Church history, and on the history of the canon and the secular law; moral theology; penance; liturgy; and monasticism.[7] The principal sources used, however, have been the following: The acts of Church councils; papal documents and other sources for the history of the canon law; the secular laws of the Germanic and the Celtic peoples; sermons and other theological works; monastic rules; liturgies; and especially the penitentials.[8]

[2] See their indices, under such heads; also under the struggles of the popes and emperors etc.

[3] See the articles on that sacrament in the encyclopedias of theology etc.

[4] *Indulgences as a Social Factor in the Middle Ages* (Eng. transl. by J. E. Ross, New York, 1922).

[5] With reference to canon law and the textual affiliations of penitentials, see P. Fournier and G. LeBras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident* (2 vols., Paris, 1931), *passim*.

[6] *The Celtic Penitentials and Their Influence Upon Continental Christianity* (Paris, 1923, and partially in *Rev. Celt.*, 1922-1923), also treating relationships with some aspects of Celtic culture. The portions on religious aspects should be used with caution.

[7] See the bibliographies and references in T. P. Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, and in his articles, mentioned *infra*.

[8] T. P. Oakley, *locc. citt.*; also G. LeBras, art., "Pénitentiels" in Vacant et Mangenot, *Dict. de théol. cath.* (1933).

These were systematic manuals of penance containing long schedules, or tariffs, of specific penances for corresponding lists of sins. From this characteristic, the type of penance administered through the penitentials has been given the appropriate name "tariffed penance". The period in which this type of manual was employed in the confessional began with the sixth century for the British Isles, and with the seventh for the Continent. In spite of some Continental opposition in the early ninth century, the penitentials or tariffed penance prevailed in western Europe until about the end of the eleventh century.

As regards the general plan of this paper, we shall first trace the ramifications of penance into areas of medieval life, that we now call political, social, economic, and cultural; and then follow these aspects with a briefer treatment of the more specifically religious ones.

In the first place, there were many significant associations between penitential discipline, on the one hand, and the secular laws, on the other. Sometimes these associations reveal additional evidence of ecclesiastical influence upon the State, as well as upon Germanic and Celtic social life; at others, they point to the impact of secular ideas and practices upon ecclesiastical life; and, at all times, they disclose, or imply, the constant coöperation of ecclesiastical discipline and secular laws in combating crime and paganism.

The aid of ecclesiastical discipline was especially needed to reinforce, and to supplement, the efforts of secular governments to protect life, liberty and property against criminals.[9] While it is true that the laws of the Germanic and the Celtic peoples, like those of others in a similar stage, were progressing away from private vengeance as the principal means for settling disputes, the barbarian codes were still very crude and incomplete. There were also serious handicaps upon the enforcement of law, and the maintenance of what is now called the public peace. Private vengeance

[9] For much of the following material on the relations between ecclesiastical discipline and the secular laws, see T. P. Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc., passim*, and his article "Mediaeval Penance and the Secular Law", *Speculum*, October, 1932. For new evidence and conclusions, additional references are given *infra*; and still other chapters of another book by the present writer remain, at present, in manuscript.

was still allowed in certain cases, developing, at times, into dangerous private wars; the executive machinery for enforcing the laws was often weak; the methods of choosing compurgators fostered perjury; and the secular laws frequently left unpunished a number of serious offences.

There were, however, close connections between religion and law. In these connections, the Church came to supply potent religious sanctions which solemnized legal procedure. Among the Germanic and the Celtic tribes the beginnings of such religious sanctions reached far back into pagan times, but were continued in modified form after the coming of Christianity. Then the powers formerly attributed to pagan priests and deities were succeeded in the popular mind by similar powers ascribed to Christian priests and saints and to God. Awe-inspiring solemn oaths were taken on sacred objects, or on holy persons; and solemn rituals were employed to overawe criminals and witnesses, to prevent perjury, etc.

Especially significant were the religious safeguards employed to impart great sanctity to oaths; for the laws of that time required that oaths sworn on such safeguards be taken in a multitude of penal, political, social, economic and religious affairs. Perjury committed in such oaths was considered an enormous sin; indeed, penitentials often prescribed twice as severe penance for it, as for such a mortal sin as homicide.[10] People then believed devoutly that God and the saints would visit dire vengeance upon anyone who misused saints' relics or other religious safeguards employed in legal procedure. In addition, the State imposed heavy secular penalties upon perjurers.

Penitential discipline rendered valuable aid to criminal law in still other provisions, of which some have been expressed in the canon law from the beginning. Again and again did penitential and other canons insist that criminals submit to trial and obey the judicial sentences imposed upon them by the secular authorities. Refusal to do justice was penalized by additional penance. Resti-

[10] See the texts of the penitentials in the editions by F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851), and by H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher* (2 vols., Mainz, 1883, and Düsseldorf, 1898), under the appropriate heads.

tution must be made for property stolen, or taken by fraud; and other wrongs must be righted. Finally, the penitential system sternly set its face against private vengeance and the blood-feud by imposing severe penances for such offences, that were often left unpunished by the secular law.

It is now evident that the medieval methods of social control exerted a two-fold pressure against the criminal. The result was a severe total of discipline, imposed concurrently by the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities. Of that total, the secular penalties were usually money compensations which roughly approximated modern damages in their conception. Such compensations, or compositions (as they were called), were then regarded as a means of compounding the blood-feud or other private vengeance. In case of homicide, they were paid to the kindred of the victim; in case of other personal wrongs, to the injured person. The amount of such compensations, and the manner of their payment, differed among various peoples.

The penance imposed in the penitentials for such a crime as homicide might vary from one to seven or ten years of partial fasting, according to the penitential authority followed.[11] This fasting was undergone for two or three days of the week and during the three quadrigesimae or forty-day periods of fasting in the year.[12] Commutation or redemption of penance was permitted by some penitentials, in certain specified cases and under restrictions.[13]

Penitential discipline also penalized a considerable number of serious offences which the early Germanic and Celtic laws either left unpunished or penalized too lightly. These delinquencies included a number of sexual offences, infanticide, brawling, and the mistreatment of slaves and of serfs.[14] In penalizing such wrongs

[11] See the same editions, under such heads as homicide, adultery, and other mortal sins.

[12] Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, 51, 90, 93.

[13] *Ibid.*, *passim*; also T. P. Oakley, "Commutations and Redemptions", *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, October, 1932 (chiefly for the Celtic penitentials) and "Alleviations of Penance in the Continental Penitentials", *Speculum*, October, 1937.

[14] See the texts of the penitentials, *passim*, under the appropriate heads. Cf. H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2 vols., rev. ed., 1906 and 1928),

against fellow human beings, penance made valuable contributions toward a higher evaluation of life, honor, and humanity. Through such endeavors, the Church carried on a long and difficult struggle against many a savage custom which militated against the welfare of women, children, and other dependents.

The status and treatment of women among the Germanic and Celtic peoples was especially in need of improvement. In contrast to the highly idealized picture of woman's status among these peoples, as depicted by some writers,[15] Germanic and Celtic women of that time were not regarded as the equals of men before the law nor given the same protection. For lower compensations were required in cases of women slain, physically injured or dishonored, than for the same offences against men.[16] Concubinage was also firmly rooted among the races mentioned, requiring several centuries of effort before its final extirpation. In that long struggle for the Christian ideal of monogamy, the educational efforts of the Church received powerful assistance from the heavy penances imposed for concubinage and for other forms of immorality.[17]

The condition of numerous slaves, and later of many serfs, was likewise ameliorated by penitential canons and by other efforts of the Church. By such methods, the emancipation of slaves or of serfs was frequently encouraged as a good work to be performed instead of some of the penance previously imposed, or as supplementary thereto.[18]

Certain forms of commutation and redemption of penance, when such alleviations were permitted, also aided the unfortunate: *e. g.*, by urging general alms-giving, hospitality to strangers, the ran-

Ancient Laws . . . of Wales, ed. A. Owen (2 vols., London, 1841), and *Ancient Laws . . . of Ireland*, ed. W. N. Hancock *et al.* (6 vols., 1865-1901), *passim*.

[15] *E.g.*, F. B. Gummere, *Germanic Origins* (New York, 1892), *passim*.

[16] See the lists of compensations for adult men and women in the laws of the Irish, Welsh and German tribes, already cited, *passim*; cf. F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (3 vols., Halle, 1898-), II, *s. v.* "*Frau*", "*Weibe*".

[17] See the texts of the penitential canons and comments in Schmitz, *op. cit.*, *passim*, under "*Konkubinat*", "*ancilla*", "*Sklav*", "*Ehebruch*". Also the appropriate heads in Vacant et Mangenot, *op. cit.*

[18] Oakley, "Commutations and Redemptions", in *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, October, 1932, *passim*, and "Alleviations of Penance", *Speculum*, October, 1937, *passim*.

soming of captives, ministration to prisoners, and other works of mercy.[19] Other forms of commutation and redemption made valuable contributions to the building and maintenance of churches, monasteries, hospitals, chantries, bridges,[20] etc.

It is likely, also, that the penitential system contributed to a growing tendency of medieval law to differentiate penalties according to motives, or other attendant circumstances, especially among the Irish and the Welsh. Such a tendency is missing, or rare, in the early laws of those peoples, but appears in their later laws;[21] and the circumstances under which this happened apparently indicate borrowing from Welsh[22] penitential canons of the sixth century. This tendency to differentiate according to motives in assigning penances naturally fitted into the larger work of the canon law,[23] which transmitted such differentiations from Roman law with some modifications.

In contrast to the lack of moral and religious purposes in modern criminal laws, many of the Germanic and Celtic codes include long moralizing passages.[24] Among other matters, these emphasize the enormity of crime, and set forth a religious purpose for criminal law. Such passages afford additional evidence of ecclesiastical influence in the codifying of those laws, but the specific influence of penance may also be discerned. The secular laws of that time constantly asserted that crimes were sins, and that secular penal law had a medicinal, as well as a punitive, purpose. Crimes were

[19] Cf. the same articles and the appropriate heads in the indices of the texts of the penitentials, cited *supra*.

[20] Paulus, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[21] See the texts of the Irish and the Welsh laws, cited *supra*, *passim*, under individual offences.

[22] Cf., *e.g.*, the degrees of penances for degrees of perjury in the Welsh penitential canons of David, and two Welsh synods, in Wasserschleben's ed. of the penitentials; also various passages in *P. Cumm.*, ed. Zettinger, in *AKKR.* (1902), 501 *sqq.* and in the later laws of the Irish and of the Welsh, *passim*.

[23] See the passages dealing with motive, etc., in J. B. Sägmüller, *Lehrbuch des katholischen Kirchenrechts* (3rd. ed., index).

[24] For illustrations and evidence on the following discussion of the relations between religion and law, see Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, chap. v, and "Mediaeval Penance and the Secular Law", *Speculum*, October, 1932, *passim*.

regarded as defiling the souls and bodies of the committors. Auricular confession and penance by criminals were constantly associated with such conceptions, and evidently had in mind the purging aim of penance, as well as the punitive one. From the foregoing facts, it is now evident that the secular laws of the peoples mentioned were strongly influenced by conceptions drawn from the domain of moral theology.

So much for the effect of penance upon the secular laws. But the latter, in turn, affected the operation of penitential discipline. The secular laws persistently demanded that criminals perform penance, in addition to paying secular penalties. And this requirement of penance was not limited to criminals; for the secular laws constantly required confession and penance from all sinners, from the age of seven years up; a requirement taken over from the canon law. In these ways, effective aid was given to the Church in its prolonged endeavors to make confession and penance obligatory.[25] But the time in which the first penitentials originated—the sixth and the seventh centuries—was a period in which the Church was having difficulty in persuading sinners to confess, and to submit themselves to penance; indeed, the primary sources for that period show, in convincing fashion, that large numbers of sinners postponed confession and penance until the end of life.[26] Hence, it follows that the aid of the State in requiring confession and penance must have made material contributions to the revival of penitential discipline.

Other secular laws and ideas also affected the operation of penance. One example of such influence is the borrowing, from secular law, of the idea of detailed tariffs, that we have already seen applied by the penitentials.[27] In addition, I have recently dis-

[25] On those endeavors, see an article by P. Browe, "Die Pflichtbeicht im Mittelalter", *Zeits. f. kath. Theol.*, LVII, no. 3 (1933), which, however, concentrates upon the Continent and omits valuable materials for the British Isles.

[26] See the many pertinent passages in O. D. Watkins, *History of Penance* (London, 1920), *passim*; cf. a significant passage in the Laws of Guthrum, *Prologue*, in the Liebermann ed.

[27] *Supra*; cf. Boudinhon, in *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, II, 497, speaking of "tariffed penance" as follows: "C'était le wergeld applique à la vie spirituelle"; and McNeill, *op. cit.*, 120 *sqq.*, for Celtic origins.

covered a few rare examples, in penitential literature, of the amalgamation of non-Christian with Christian usages or ideas. According to an Old Irish Penitential [28] of the eighth century, two monks must fast against each other, to determine which of them has lied. This passage has plainly been affected by the Old Irish custom of fasting against an opponent in a lawsuit,[29] a custom which may also have supplied the precedent for the hunger strikes of the Irish uprisings, from 1916 forward. Other passages in the same penitential contain peculiar reckonings of penances for the murder of kinsmen, and for larceny.[30] When these reckonings of penance are compared with certain passages in the Brehon Laws, the indebtedness of the Old Irish Penitential to those laws may be clearly perceived.

Additional and very peculiar modifications of penance may be observed in the Brehon Laws themselves. For example, penance was sometimes regarded by them as a debt due to the clergy, in much the same way as secular compensations were due to injured laymen; pledges must be deposited as guarantees that penance would be performed; and penance must be undergone as one means of recovering rank which had been diminished or lost through the commission of crime.[31] A late Irish law-tract goes further than that; for it says that different grades of churches, and of clerics, are entitled to different amounts of penance for misdeeds committed against them, just as the secular compensations varied according to the rank of the victim.[32] This last provision runs counter to the strict attitude of the penitential canons, which did not recognize such a concession to popular notions. It is likely that the passage represents a late case, perhaps a rare one, of the secularizing of ecclesiastical ideas in mediaeval Ireland.

Curious examples of the migration of customs and ideas are revealed by some other affiliations of penitential canons with the

[28] Ed. E. J. Gwynn, in *Eriu* (1911), can. iii, sect. 22.

[29] *Ancient Laws ... of Ireland, passim* (Index, under "Distress," etc.).

[30] Oakley, "Cultural Affiliations of Early Ireland", *Speculum*, October, 1933, 499.

[31] *Ancient Laws ... of Ireland, passim* (Index, under "Honor-price"): I, 57-71; IV, 293; III, 383; V, 52-53, 120-121; III, 107; IV, 229; II, 35.

[32] *Ancient Laws ... of Ireland, "Crith Gablach", passim.*

secular laws. Among many instances of such migration which I have met in my researches, one of the most intriguing is concerned with a curious Irish custom, called in English "sick-maintenance". According to this custom, he who has disabled another must pay for medical treatment, do the work of the injured until he recovers, and perform penance, all this in addition to paying the secular compensations demanded. The custom originated in the Brehon Laws.[33] From that source it was borrowed by at least two [34] Irish penitentials, from which it passed into various later penitentials, that were used in England and on the Continent.[35] Through the Iro-Latin Penitential of Cummean, from about 650 A. D., the regulations passed into a late English penitential,[36] which modified them. From this English manual, they were again borrowed by a law-tract in Anglo-Latin,[37] that comes to us from the early years of Norman England.

Again, the secular laws often throw light upon the operation of penance; while, on the other hand, passages in the penitentials sometimes explain others in the secular codes. These relationships have usually been neglected by scholars engaged in research on penitential history, or on that of the secular laws.

A few examples will serve to illustrate these relationships. From the ecclesiastical side, certain passages on compensations, borrowed by early Irish penitentials [38] from Irish secular customs, furnish evidence of the antiquity of Irish criminal law that is earlier than the extant manuscripts of the Brehon Laws.[39] In the latter, numerous references to "Godly banquets" to secular require-

[33] *Ancient Laws of Ireland, passim*, under "sick-maintenance".

[34] That of Cummean and the Old Irish Penitential. Cf. Oakley, "Cultural Affiliations of Early Ireland", *loc. cit.*, 499 and his article on *P. Cumm.*, in *Romanic Rev.*, January-March, 1934, *passim*.

[35] Cf. the texts of these penitentials in Schmitz, *op. cit.*, *s. v.*, "Arzt".

[36] Cf. *P. Cumm.*, can. iv, 9, in *AKKR.* (1902), 513, with the later passages cited in the Liebermann ed. of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, *s. v.*, "Arzt".

[37] On the influence of the pseudonymous Penitential of Egbert upon the spurious *Leges Henrici Primi*, see Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II, 622.

[38] The *Canones Hibernenses*, in Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, from a manuscript of the seventh or eighth century.

[39] For these, see art. "Celtic Law", by Eoin MacNeill, in *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*; and art. "Brehon Laws", *Ency. Brit.* (14th. ed.).

ment of penance, to compensations for wrongs against persons of different rank in society and in the Church etc., are of great help to students of certain obscure penitential canons. Other chapters in the Brehon Laws supply information about the operation of penance in Ireland, which is missing in other sources for the early Irish Church. Especially picturesque are the frequent provisions requiring that a sinner, who has been undergoing enforced penance in some distant monastery, cannot return to his home parish unless he bears with him a so-called " character of approval ", or written recommendation, from the abbot of that monastery.[40]

Up to this point, we have been observing the relationships of penance with the political, social, and economic life of the Middle Ages. We now come to the connections of penitential discipline with the history of medieval culture.

In the first place, we may justly view, as a part of that history, the reciprocal relations of secular and penitential texts, that we have previously described. Additional information may also be gained by investigating the sources for the penitential codes; by searching out other textual affiliations of the penitentials; and by studying the palaeography, language, etc., of those manuals.

Research on the sources of the penitentials involves tasks that are often very difficult. Up to the present time, such research has failed to solve a number of important problems;[41] but the editors and critical writers, who have worked on the penitentials, have made many valuable discoveries.[42] Some of the most important of these concern the so-called Celtic penitentials, composed by Welshmen and by Irishmen from the sixth to the eighth century inclusive.

These Celtic penitentials furnished the archetypes for the other penitentials, and thus inaugurated tariffed penance.[43] It has also

[40] *Ancient Laws . . . of Ireland, passim,* under the pertinent heads.

[41] See, *e.g.*, the projects listed at the end of this paper.

[42] Cf. Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, chaps. i, iv, and his articles for the only up-to-date introductions to the history of the penitentials, now available in English. Cf. the fuller account in the article by LeBras, cited *supra*, which, however, omits certain information about the Penitential of Cummean and other Irish penitential canons, set forth in the articles by Oakley.

[43] Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, 27, 30, 33, 55 and their references. Cf. LeBras, art. cit.; J. F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of*

been stated that the introduction of the Celtic penitentials on the Continent, from the seventh century forward, brought about a revolution in the administration of penance.[44] My own recent research, however, has demonstrated that this broad conclusion needs to be modified. For detailed investigation of the sources for the early Irish penitentials demonstrates the indebtedness of those manuals to other Christian precedents elsewhere, especially from the Church in Southern Gaul, and more particularly from John Cassian and Caesarius of Arles.[45]

Again, many an Irish or Welsh penitential canon, in its original form or modified, subsequently reappears in penitentials of English, Frankish, German, Italian, or Spanish provenance.[46] Some penitential provisions of Irish origin even passed into penitentials drawn up for use in far distant Iceland. From the eighth century forward, certain English penitentials influenced others of Irish, or of Continental provenance;[47] other Continental penitentials supplied materials for manuals of penance that were compiled in late, pre-Norman England;[48] while there are numerous textual affiliations between various Continental penitentials.[49]

Ireland, I (New York, 1929), 199-200, 235-250; and art. "Pénitence" (Amann) in Vacant et Mangenot, *op. cit.*

[44] *Ibid.*; and Watkins, *op. cit.*, *passim*; cf. B. Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im frühen Mittelalter* (Breslau, 1930), chaps. i-iv.

[45] Oakley, "Cultural Affiliations of Early Ireland", and "The Origins of Irish Penitential Discipline", in the October, 1933, issues of *Speculum* and *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, respectively.

[46] Cf. the references in Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, 27, 30*sqq.*, and *passim*, particularly the works of Seebass, Fournier, and McNeill; also Fournier-LeBras, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and LeBras, art. cit., for the Spanish penitentials. For the Penitential of Cummean, in addition to the edition by Zettinger, cited above, there is new material in Oakley, "A Great Irish Penitential and Its Authorship", in *Romanic Rev.*, January-March, 1934.

[47] See the data on the penitentials of Bede, Egbert and Theodore, and their cycles, in Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, *passim*. Cf. the influence of the Penitential of Theodore upon the Old Irish Penitential, as set forth in Gwynn's ed. of the latter.

[48] Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, 131-135.

[49] See the source-indications for those penitentials in the edd. by Wasserschleben and by Schmitz. Cf., in particular, the more detailed comparisons by Fournier-LeBras, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

Especially significant is the fact that many centers of Irish and of English influence on the Continent were, at the same time, *foci* for the spread of insular culture and of tariffed penance.[50] Finally, evidence of Byzantine influence may be observed in certain penitentials; and Byzantine elements were often incorporated into the various revivals of public penance in the Western Church.[51]

Research on the textual affiliations of certain penitentials also reveals interesting facts about the lives of eminent ecclesiastical leaders—facts which have not yet been used by many of their modern biographers. For example, it has been discovered that Cummean the Long, Abbot of Clonfert about 650 A. D., was apparently one of the great scholars of seventh-century Ireland, and that his penitential was one of the most influential of all such codes;[52] that the principal influence of St. Columbanus was in reviving and extending the practice of penance, rather than in converting the pagans;[53] and that a great part of the influence of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, was exerted through his penitential.[54]

In addition, research into the sources for penance in the early Irish Church furnishes new data on the scholarship of certain early Irish saints, and of Irish monastic schools.[55] The result is to enhance the scholarly reputation of certain Irish individuals and centers, while that of others suffers.

Sometimes, too, the language of penitential canons presents facts of interest for the history of ecclesiastical Latin, or for that of the vernacular languages. As the details of penitential discipline developed, with the development of moral theology and of related institutions, new words gradually emerged, and new meanings were added to the connotations of old words and phrases. Sometimes

[50] Watkins, *op. cit., passim.*

[51] *Ibid.*; and Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, 45, n. 3. Cf. the influence of the Greek Canonical Letters, in *ibid., passim.*

[52] See the notes in the Zettinger ed. of his penitential, and the article on that manual by Oakley, cited *supra.*

[53] Watkins, *op. cit., passim*; art. "Pénitence", in Vacant et Mangenot, *op. cit.*

[54] Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline, etc.*, 105-117.

[55] Oakley, "Cultural Affiliations of Early Ireland", *Speculum*, October, 1933.

these changes appear in documents written in Latin, in Anglo-Saxon, Old Irish, etc.

We now turn to a brief consideration of the strictly religious aspects of penitential history in the period under discussion. There are so many of those aspects, however, that it will be advisable to concentrate upon a few outstanding results of research on the penitentials.

To the history of those codes, scholars of the twentieth century have made notable contributions. Important new facts have been discovered; new conclusions developed; some old ones strengthened; and others revised. Valuable additions have been made to the primary sources available, through the publication of several penitentials that were long unknown to modern scholars. Of these manuals, the most outstanding is the genuine Penitential of Cummean,[56] composed about 650 A. D. This was published, with excellent critical apparatus, by the German scholar, Zettinger, in 1902, an achievement characterized as epoch-making by the great authority, Paul Fournier.[57]

The growing use of penitentials in the period of tariffed penance is now recognized as one of the strongest forces for the final predominance of private over public penance. With this tendency there came also an increasing predominance of the priest over its imposition and direction, in contrast to the older system of public penance, which had been dominated by the bishop.[58]

In the churches of early Wales and Ireland, public penance was always absent;[59] but elsewhere there was intermittent revival of

[56] As distinguished from the *Excarpsus Cummeani*, which has often been used as a genuine Irish penitential by Cummean, but has been proven to be a late Frankish compilation; see the notes in the Zettinger ed. of the genuine Penitential of Cummean, in *AKKR.* (1902), 501 *sqq.*

[57] In *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VIII, 542; cf. W. von Hörmann, in *Mélanges Fitting* (Montpelier, 1908), II, 6, n. 12, and the article on Cummean by Oakley, cited *supra.*

[58] In the old Church, elements of private penance existed alongside of public penance. Cf. G. Rauschen, *Eucharist and Penance in the First Six Centuries* (Eng. transl., St. Louis, 1913), 233 *sqq.*; art. "Pénitence", in Vacant et Mangenot, *op. cit.*; B. Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im Ausgang des Christlichen Altertums* (Munich, 1928), chap. iii.

[59] Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, chap. iii; cf. Poschmann, *Die*

public penance for notorious mortal sins, in addition to private penance.[60] Nearly all modern scholars have erroneously claimed that public penance was always absent in England. As a matter of fact, however, the partial existence of public penance in that country, alongside of private penance, is attested by various primary sources from the time of Theodore of Canterbury to the early part of the eleventh century.[61]

In the realm of moral theology, the penitentials aided in disseminating, as well as applying, conceptions of the nature and the aims of penance, as well as more detailed differentiation between degrees of sins in thought or in deed. The penitential codes are also among the important sources for the history of canon law; and portions of some of these manuals were incorporated into such important collections as the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms.[62]

Closer study of the penitentials, in the setting of their times, reveals them as valuable sources for the history of particularism within the mediaeval Church. By this, we refer to the struggles of national or local churches, or of individual prelates, for their particular privileges and customs, as over against universalizing forces.[63]

In addition, the penitentials were sometimes instrumental in furthering particularism, but without deliberate intention to do so. For example, there was often wide variation and contradiction between penitentials in such important matters as the following: the amounts of penance assigned for the same sins;[64] the permitting, or refusal, of the privilege of redeeming or commuting penance;[65] the extent of discretion allowed to the priest in im-

abendländische Kirchenbusse im frühen Mittelalter, chap, i; art. "Pénitence", in Vacant et Mangenot, *op. cit.*

[60] Oakley, *op. cit.*, chap. ii and its references; art. "Pénitence", in Vacant et Mangenot, *op. cit.*; and Poschmann, *op. cit.*, chaps. iv, v, vii.

[61] This conclusion I have demonstrated in detail in *English Penitential Discipline*, chap. iii.

[62] Cf. Fournier-LeBras, *op. cit., passim.*

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] See the edd. of the penitentials by Wasserschleben, Schmitz *et al.*, under individual offences.

[65] Oakley, "Commutations and Redemptions in the Penitentials", *Cath.*

posing penance;[66] and the degrees of relationship, within which marriage was prohibited.[67]

In these and in other respects, modern historians have often made incorrect use of the penitentials as historical sources, because they have repeatedly cited fragmentary passages from a few penitentials as typical of all others and as evidence of universal practice. As a matter of fact, however, there was no such thing as a typical penitential. Indeed, some contemporary Church councils and prelates complained bitterly against these manuals, alleging that their arbitrary and contradictory judgments were subversive of ecclesiastical discipline.[68] And, in our own day, two of the greatest historians of canon law, Fournier and LeBras,[69] consider that the marked particularism of the penitentials gave material aid to other contemporary forces for ecclesiastical disorder and anarchy.

On the other hand, a portion of the Penitential of Theodore is specifically directed against the strong particularistic movement, that is known as the Celtic heresy, or schism; and these passages have not been used by most historians of that schism. But the diplomatic skill of Theodore is also to be seen in the fact that, while he condemned the schismatic beliefs and practices of the Celtic churches, he made use of their system of private penance, and he actually employed an Irish penitential as the source for certain of his own canons.[70]

Hist. Rev., October, 1932, *passim*; and his "Alleviations of Penance in the Continental Penitentials", *Speculum*, October, 1937.

[66] Only a few of the penitentials allowed such discretion; *e.g.*, *P. Bede*, can. i, *Confessional of pseudo Egbert*, can. i, the Bigotian Penitential, and the late Penitential of Burchard, in the articles by Oakley, cited *supra*. Cf. his *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, 88 *sqq*. For the full lists of the penitentials, see the above articles and *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, *passim*.

[67] The insular penitentials were less strict in this matter, than were the Continental ones; see the texts of the penitentials in the ed. by Schmitz (Index, under "*Ehe*").

[68] Oakley, "Alleviations of Penance in the Continental Penitentials", *Speculum*, October, 1937, 491-492.

[69] *Op. cit.*, I, 56 *sqq.*, 78 *sqq.*, 84 *sqq*.

[70] The Penitential of Theodore frequently borrows from the Celtic penitentials and does not essentially change their system of private penance, except for some alterations in the amounts of penance and the introduction of some elements of public penance; cf. Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline etc.*, chaps. iii-iv. Cf. also *ibid.*, 112.

Some of the most curious passages in certain penitentials prohibit the eating of certain foods, or the performing of certain acts, then regarded as "unclean", in the religious sense of the word. A modern reader is sometimes quite amused by certain of these passages. For instance, a canon in the Penitential of Theodore requires religious purification, if one has drunk liquid into which a mouse has fallen;[71] while another canon in the same manual requires similar purification for drinking liquids, into which a little pig has fallen.[72] Another amusing passage occurs in a certain canon of the Old Irish Penitential, which differentiates penances for gluttony according to the extent that one has over-eaten. One section of this canon ends as follows:[73] "Anyone who eats until he makes himself ill, or till his skin gets tight, keeps a fast, two days on bread and water."

Before this paper comes to a close, it may be helpful to indicate briefly a few of the rich opportunities for original research which await workers in the history of penance during the period under discussion. Among others, such projects include the following: the operation of penance and its relations to secular law in central and southern Italy, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Iceland, Russia, the domains that became old Austria-Hungary, and the Eastern Church; the penitential books used in those regions, together with their textual affiliations; and the acquiring of much needed information about the manuals of penance which were employed in the period following the penitentials.

THOMAS P. OAKLEY.

[71] Can. xii, 9.

[72] Can. xii, 8.

[73] Old Irish Penitential, can. i, 10, in *Eriu*, VII, 149.

MISCELLANY

Massachusetts' Religious Policy with the Indians under Governor Bernard: 1760–1769.

The British capture of Quebec in September, 1759, gave rise to many problems, among others to that of religion. A non-Catholic nation had conquered a Catholic country, and henceforth must govern new subjects, both French and Indian, almost every one of whom was opposed to its religion and its religious laws. Great Britain had faced a similar problem a half-century before in the conquest of Acadia (Nova Scotia), and had then attempted to solve it by granting Catholics of that region freedom to practice their religion "in as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same."

Many difficulties and misunderstandings marked the fifty years' operation of this program in Nova Scotia; and by 1756, it had been rescinded.[1] In fact, the very war which virtually ended with the capture of Quebec, had started in Nova Scotia by the withdrawal of religious freedom. The Catholic priests there had been imprisoned and the Catholic people deported, in order to make way for an exclusively Protestant population. And the Assembly of that Province, a body set up only after the deportation, passed an anti-priest law in the very first year of its existence. That was in 1758.

When, therefore, British forces captured Quebec in 1759, the Nova Scotia precedent could hardly be considered a successful experiment. Nevertheless, the British Government again offered the program of religious toleration as its solution of the Quebec problem. By the article VI of the *Capitulation of Quebec*, it allowed Catholic priests to continue their functions in the newly conquered territory.[2] By this concession, it occasioned the partial renewal of a similar toleration in Nova Scotia. Thereby, also, in due course, it brought a large measure of embarrassment to the Province of Massachusetts, whose Catholic Indians requested a like privilege.[3]

In Nova Scotia, the concession of religious freedom to the Indians followed quite soon upon that given at Quebec. For, the maritime province

[1] There came into existence at this time the matter of allowing a priest for the Acadians; but this will be passed over here, as far as possible, for the purpose of simplicity.

[2] September 18, 1759.

[3] In both Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, there arose at this same time the question of allowing a priest for the Acadians also; but this will not be referred to here, except when necessary.

made a treaty of peace with its Indians on February 23, 1760, and granted them freedom of religion.[4] The intermediary for this treaty was in fact the Jesuit missionary, Fr. Charles Germain, who had been with the St. John's Indians for some twenty years. When he learned of the fall of Quebec, he had immediately recognized its significance. News from Quebec of the victors' willingness to grant religious freedom satisfied the missionary that it involved his own submission, which he quickly made; he then advised his flock to follow his example. Fr. Maillard on the Isle of St. Jean and Fr. Manach at Miramichi also made an accommodation with the Nova Scotia officials, and so quickly that the French military authorities suspected concerted action on their part.[5]

Nova Scotia went so far as not only to allow a priest to the Indians, but also to pay the priest. Fr. Germain, for example, was granted an allowance of £50 per annum by the Nova Scotia Council on September 18, 1761, for his services among these same Indians.[6] Even before that date, Fr. Maillard had been given a yearly pension of £100 per annum.[7]

But the question of salary apart, it is a fact that the Government of Nova Scotia early in 1760 allowed a priest to the Indians. This action was later referred to by an English Secretary of State, as "an extraordinary indulgence".[8] In reality the Province only took over what had been a tradition there, and acted in accord with the policy underlying the *Capitulation of Quebec*, even though in granting the concession it may have violated Nova Scotia's colonial law. Just a week after the Indian Treaty of Halifax was signed, five delegates from the Penobscot Indians brought in a flag of truce to the Massachusetts commander at the new Fort Pownall on Penobscot River. They wanted peace with the Government of Massachusetts, and cited the treaty just made by the St. John's Indians.[9] By April 29, 1760, an informal treaty of peace had been arranged.[10]

The documents are silent on the religious question; but there are reasons to indicate that it was brought up. The fervent Catholicity of these Indians and that of their chief, Toma, make this antecedently probable. The

[4] Lawrence to Lords of Trade, May 11, 1760 and June 16, 1760, *Can. Arch. 1894*, 221, 222.

[5] Niles, "History of the French and Indian War," in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ser. IV, vol. V, 309-589, *passim*; *Boston Evening Post*, December 3, 1759; Pownall to Pitt, November 20, 1759, *Can. Arch. 1905*, II, 186 ff.

[6] *Report Can. Arch. 1894*, 222; *Rep. Can. Arch. 1905*, II, 257.

[7] *Digest of S. P. G. Records* (London, 1893), 212; Franklin to Hillsborough, *Can. Arch. 1905*, II, 222.

[8] Dartmouth to Legge, October 5, 1774, *Can. Arch. 1905*, II, 235.

[9] *Mass. Arch.*, 29: 478.

[10] *Mass. Council Records for 1759-1761*, 214.

close connection of the Indians' request for peace with the concluding of the Halifax Treaty and their express allusion to that treaty in their parley with Col. Prebble are added reasons to believe that the Indians spoke of religion to the Massachusetts authorities. Furthermore, the action of the Boston government itself points in the same direction. Governor Pownall did not make a formal treaty with these Indians at that date, but only an informal one. It is true that in February, 1760, he knew that he had been replaced as governor, but Governor Bernard, his successor, likewise left the Indian settlement incomplete.[11] Bernard explained, at a later time, that he was awaiting the signing of the general Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and France before entering "into a formal and final Treaty of Peace with the Indians". He also speaks of preparing them "for a solemn Treaty of Peace and Friendship, when the time should be ripe for such a Conclusion". The attitude of Massachusetts thus reveals the existence in 1760–1763 of some question with the Indians which the Province was as yet unprepared to settle. That this question had to do with religion, or at least included religion, is made probable by the fact that as soon as the Treaty of Paris became known to the Indians, they immediately brought up the matter of a priest. It is likely, therefore, that the Massachusetts authorities had faced this question in April, 1760, but put off its settlement until the Peace of Paris should be signed.

In the meantime, the Indians "visit Canada once or twice a year for absolution".[12] Fr. Charles Germain, S.J., was on the St. John's until late in 1762, perhaps even longer.[13] Fr. Simon Gounon, S.J., was at Becancourt on the Puante until 1764.[14] It was to the St. John and Becancourt mission then that the Maine Indians had to go for religious reasons, since the Massachusetts Government would not yet give favorable consideration to their religious needs.

In other matters, it was Governor Bernard's policy to satisfy these Indians and to reconcile them to the settling of their country by the English. The capture of Quebec and the peace with the Indians had awakened again the colonizing spirit, and the territory between Penobscot and Ste. Croix was being opened up to new settlers. Lands were being taken up; twelve townships, each of Penobscot, were laid out; surveying parties were organized; new county divisions were established. Massachusetts was actually taking possession of a district which in times past had been dis-

[11] Bernard arrived in Boston in August, 1760.

[12] Rev. Jacob Bailey to S. P. G., September 29, 1765, *S. P. G. Journal*, 17, 26.

[13] Plessis, *Visites Pastorales* (Quebec, 1903), 122. Bp. Plessis was of the opinion that the St. John mission had been vacated about 1765. There is, however, no explicit statement of Fr. Germain's presence there after a letter of his in 1762. *Nova Scotia Archives* (Halifax, 1869), 321, note.

[14] Becancourt Records.

puted with the Indians.[15] The Governor felt that the Indians, though defeated and deprived of the aid of France, were still very powerful, and he wished to keep them "in good humour, as well as by redressing & preventing injuries, as by soothing their fears and removing jealousies". Therefore, he not only took care for the Indians' hunting and fishing rights, but he likewise let it become known to the Indians in the early part of 1762 that he would make them a personal visit near Penobscot. Although he was prevented from carrying out his purpose at that time, the Indians kept expecting him and expressed a hearty desire to see him. He then planned to go in the autumn, but the Assembly would not grant the money for the expedition, and he had to be satisfied with sending general assurances to the Indians to keep them quiet. The assembly considered the Indians as too contemptible and insignificant to deserve so public a notice.[16]

Thus matters stood until news reached America in May, 1763, that the Treaty of Paris had been signed. As soon as the Passamaquoddy Indians became aware of this, they sent the following letter to the Governor:

> Govinouer Bearnnard (*sic*) We think it hard that You Settle the Lands that God Gave to us W(*it*)hout making us sum (*sic*) Consideration. We know that We are in Youer Power. Pray Consider ouer Case and you will be In Lightnd Into Youer owen. We heare that It is Peace and (?) that the English Comands The Greatest Parte of Northamerica. We hear that ouer Minesters are and are to be remouved from us. If so we Pray that You would Consider and have Pittey on ouer Souls and Send us one. We should be Glad that You Would send us a French one But if not Send us one of Youers for Aney is better than none. We hope that you you (*sic*) will Consider ouer riquest and Send us an answer. We saluit You the Govrnouer and Counsell In the Name and Behalfe of the Passamaquduia (*sic*) tribe, Abowndrawonit
>
> Passamaquida Great Island June 1763
>
> Abowndwonit (his) marke[17]

Thus the religious question was now raised, if it had not been previously. The Governor's reply to this letter is not extant; judged from his subsequent report to the Home Government, it seems to have been only a general one, that at the moment he had no priest to send them.[18] It

[15] Williamson, *History of Maine* (Hallowell, 1839), II, 346 ff.

[16] Message to General Assembly, June 5, 1764; *cf.* also September 10, 1762; *Mass. Archives, House Journal*, sub die. The former is printed in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Documentary History*, XIII, 341 ff. (Referred to henceforth simply as *Baxter Mss.*).

[17] Passamaquoddy Indians to Gov'r Bernard, *Mass. State Arch.*, 33: 233.

[18] Bernard to Lords of Trade, August 18, 1764. The *Bernard Papers* are in the Sparks Mss. at Harvard College. They will be referred to hereafter

must have been in June or early July that the Penobscots also sought an interview with Gov. Bernard; for they received the permission requested and met the Governor in Boston on August 22, 1763. In the account of their conference nothing of a religious nature is found; the report deals entirely with trade.[19] But it is significant, that a few weeks later the Governor visited the Indians in Maine, and on September 19, 1763, held the long-expected conference, in which the chief question was about religion. The report is still extant.[20] In it the Penobscot chief, Toma, is quoted as saying to Gov. Bernard:

> Brother, I want you to help me on Account of Religion—(*sic*) God made us all.—Do help us if it lays in your Power.—(*sic*) The People of Boston are Brothers to us, as well as the People of Halifax are brothers to the Indians at St. John's.—It is a Friar we want.

The Governor said, "Will no priest do but a Romish Priest?" Toma answered, "No." Later on in the interview the Governor said:

> It is our principle that all Christians should worship God in the manner that is most agreeable to their Conscience. But as the Priests of the Romish Religion have always been dangerous Enemies to the Civil State of Great Britain, We have good reason to be particularly careful against them. Nevertheless if it can be made safe to the Civil State of the Country, you will be indulged in the use of a Romish Priest. But great care must be taken in the appointment of the man and some provision must be made for his support, all of which will require time for consideration....

Gov. Bernard's speech reflects the main religious content of the Paris Treaty, which allowed His Britannic Majesty's new Roman Catholic subjects "to profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit."[21] The Indians in pressing their claim also used the argument of precedent. Their description of the Government of Halifax as brothers to the Indians at St. John can, in the circumstances, have had no other meaning than that the Nova Scotia Government had allowed a priest to those Indians. When Gov. Bernard later reported on this matter to the Home Government, he

simply as *Bernard Papers*. This letter is in Vol. III. It has been printed in the *Baxter Mss.*, XIII, 365-7.

[19] *Mass. Council Records*, s. d.

[20] *Mass. Arch. Proclamations*, s. d.

[21] Art. IV. The whole treaty is in *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada* (2d Ed., Ottawa, 1918), 97-122. The clause guaranteeing religious freedom corresponded to Article VI in the *Capitulation of Quebec*. *Cf. op. cit.*, 3-7.

summed up by saying, "I could only give them a general answer, not having a priest at my command."[22] He did not say that there was a law in Massachusetts prohibiting a Catholic priest's officiating on its territory. He rather left the impression with the Indians that the Massachusetts Government would indulge them in this matter, if the right kind of Catholic priest could be found to officiate among them.

Nevertheless, when the Governor returned to Boston, he did not seek out a "Romish priest" for these Indians; he did not even report the matter at once to the Home Government. And when later he did report to England, he said that he would not have presumed to send the Indians a Catholic priest "without a greater authority than my own".[23] He even told the Massachusetts legislature that he had given the Indians "satisfaction, in every point except one, which I convinced them was not in my power".[24] Gov. Bernard intended to meet the situation by sending a Protestant missionary among them. In his Message to the House, on January 14, 1764, the Governor touched upon the Indian question, and among other things, asked the Assembly to appoint a Chaplain at Fort Pownall. Even then he did not publicly declare his real purpose. He said:

> Altho at first sight, he may not be thought to be of use for the defence of the Fort, yet he really is so; as the making Men good Christians will be the best Means to render them brave and fearless of danger in a good Cause. But it is not only for the Garrison I propose this: There are in the Neighborhood of Fort Pownall many settlers who neither have nor are like to have for some years an Opportunity to frequent religious Worship, unless you will enable them to enjoy it at Fort Pownall. It is an act of Christian Charity to provide for the wants of the Soul, as well as those of the Body.[25]

In this same message, the Governor asked for the right to appoint surveying parties to discover the different passages to Canada, "the present being favourable on account of the good Humour of the Indians".

The General Court granted the Chaplain on January 19, fixing his salary at 4 pounds per month, which placed him next in importance to the Captain, who was given 4 pounds 10. And on February 2, the House passed a resolve about scouting parties. Bernard then put into operation his plan of satisfying the Indians in the matter of religion,[26]

[22] Bernard to Lord Halifax, August 18, 1764. *Cf.* below notes 23 and 31.

[23] Bernard to Lord Halifax, August 18, 1764, *Bernard Papers*, III, 168-171.

[24] Message to House, January 14, 1764, *House Journal*, s. d.

[25] Bernard to House, *House Journal*, January 14, 1764.

[26] *House Journal*, 208, 258.

Only on June 29, 1764, did he report on this to the Home Government, when he summed up the Assembly's actions in its recent session. Having made reference to his conferences with the Indians, he came to the one which had to do with religion, a copy of which he then enclosed.[27] He wrote:

> It has laid by me in hopes that I should be able to form a plan for providing the Indians with a priest. But I know not what to propose. A Romish Priest, if one well affected to Great Britain could be procured, would immediately enter into great authority with them; where as a protestant Missioner would gain upon them slowly. But as no such offers at present, I am endeavouring to provide one from the establishment at Fort Pownall, where the Assembly lately at my desire, have allowed a chaplain, & the person I have appointed has undertaken to get acquainted with the Indians and their language & manners. For which purpose he is now among them: and if he can gain an influence over them, for which he seems very well calculated, he may easily take upon him the function of a Missioner with probable success. He is at present gone with a party which I have sent from Fort Pownall to Quebec to reconnoitre the country, accompanied by some of the chiefs of the Penobscots. They are now probably at Quebec & if the hot weather will permit it, will return before the end of this month.[28]

The chaplain to whom the Governor made reference was probably Doctor William Crawford. The latter was one of four Englishmen who went in the surveying party to Quebec which Bernard mentioned.[29] Doctor Chadwick went with the party as second surveyor. He was a surgeon, and was chaplain at Fort Pownall in later years as well. He died there on June 15, 1776, aged 46, and was therefore some 34 years of age at the time of this expedition. He had already been at Fort Edward in 1757.

Perhaps it was on the basis of his information that Bernard had reported to the Home Government a "probable success" for his plan with the Indians and that "a protestant Missioner would gain upon them but slowly".

As a matter of fact, the Governor's plan was not working out at all. For the Indians, still under the impression that they might be indulgenced with a priest, if the right kind of a priest could be obtained, made use of the surveying party to seek such a priest from Canada. When the party reached the Indian town of Persadonk (*sic*) on what is now Nicola's Island, they were invited to an Indian Council, held in Chief Toma's apart-

[27] That was the conference of September 17, 1763.

[28] Bernard to Board of Trade, June 29, 1764, *Bernard Papers*, III, 153, 159.

[29] The others were Capt. John Prebble, Interpreter; Joseph Chadwick, Surveyor (who left a "Journal of Expedition" which has been printed in *Bangor Hist. Mag.*, IV (1888-89), 141 ff.), and Philip Nuton, Assistant.

ment. Besides Toma, the chiefs Odohando and Orono and some fifty other Indians were present. Chadwick reports the meeting thus:

> Their first speech was nearly as follows: The sun rises fair and clear as opens the day, we rejoice to meet you as friends in peace and health, but what we want is to desire you to carry our petition to the Governor of Canada: he then proceeded and humbly sheweth that during the time of the French Government in Canada, they supplied the Indians with a Friar free of expense, and since the English governor they had no benefit of any teacher, by which the old men forgot their Religion, the young men could learn none, nor have proper marriages and christenings, etc. by which it was not in their power to live as Christian people ought to do....[30]

The surveying party carried the message to Quebec and presented it to Gov. Murray. The latter wrote his reply on June 26, 1764: it was to the effect that he was willing that a Friar from Canada should go to the Penobscots, but that the request for his going should properly emanate from Governor Bernard of Massachusetts. This letter was brought back and the Indians immediately transmitted it to Gov. Bernard with a petition that he should give leave for such a priest to come among them.[31]

The action of the Indians and Gov. Murray's answer put Gov. Bernard in an embarrassing position. He did not want to give the Indians a Catholic priest, and intended to refuse Gov. Murray's offer. His own initial solution of a Protestant minister, an experiment at best, was a failure. So he wrote to the Home Government on August 18, 1764, to explain his problem and to offer a new solution. His objection to a priest from Canada, he explained, lay in the probability that such a one would be attached to French policy and would endeavor to alienate the Indians from the English Government; he might even feed the Indians with hopes of a French revolution in this country. But he was also opposed to having a Catholic priest from anywhere, first because any Catholic priest might be a latent enemy to England, and secondly he might pervert the English settlers of the district. The Governor did not say that the Massachusetts law forbade even the consideration of a Catholic priest for the Indians. His objections did not rest at all on legal grounds.

As a solution of the problem, he proposed now an Anglican minister, or priest, as he called him. And to support his proposition, he declared his belief that the Indians might accept such a one:

> They distinguish between the Church of England & the Independent Worship; and have too high an Opinion of the priestly character to receive a self-constituted Minister as an ordained priest. And as their

[30] *Bangor Hist. Mag.*, IV, 144.

[31] Bernard to Lord Halifax, August 18, 1764, *Bernard Papers*, III, 168-171. Murray also wrote to Bernard. *Cf.* P. R. O., A. W. I., 107, 111.

> Religion has consisted hitherto entirely of Ceremonies, it is too great a transition to pass to a Worship with no ceremony at all. And therefore I am of Opinion that an Independent or a Presbyterian Minister would make but a slow progress among them. But I think otherwise of a Priest of the Church of England. By a judicious use of the habit & Ceremonials of the established Worship, He would probably very soon get the better of their prejudice. He must speak french, which they understand.

The Governor then added as a further reason for his suggestion: the good that an Anglican minister could do among the settlers. "The proprietors of one township . . . have applied to me to recommend them to the Society for a Missionary." After thus exposing his views, Bernard declared his own desire that the Society for Propagating the Gospel should be asked to send such a missionary. In fine, the Governor had no intention then or formerly of satisfying the Indians' desire for a Catholic priest.

But he undertook a journey to the eastward immediately after writing that report to the Home Government, for he must give an answer to the Indians. He first visited the Passamaquoddy, concerning which he later reported:

> At Passimaquoddy the chief Indians & all most the whole tribe were fishing at such a distance that I could not wait their return. However I saw 4 or 5 of them; who, tho they were not of consequence enough to take upon them to talk upon public business, again and again reminded me of their great want of a priest. I gave them for answer that I must wait for the King's command before I could do anything in this business. And I signified the same to their chief (who applied to me for this purpose above a year ago) by a Message ....[32]

The Governor then went on to Penobscot. About this visit he reported thus:

> At Penobscot, I found but few Indians, but amongst these, one of their chiefs, a man of the first Sense among them. I had a conference with him; and what related to a Priest, I had put down in writing as it was spoke: that I might transmit it with more exactness to your Lordship & also that it might be communicated to the Indians as an Answer to the message they sent me 2 months ago.[33]

The report of that conference runs as follows:

> A Conference between his Excellency Govr. Bernard & Aleser a chief & others of the Penobscot Indians, held at Fort Pownall Sept. 26, 1764.
>
> Aleser. All the young men that you wanted to go to Canada & Norridgewalk immediately went at your desire, & now we hope you'll mind what we desire, & assist us. We are poor.

[32] Bernard to Lord Halifax, September 29, 1764, *Bernard Papers*, III, 171.

[33] Bernard to Halifax, September 29, 1764; continuation of letters cited above.

There is one God, & we have a Religion among us that we cannot part with, & we want a Father to baptize our children, & marry us, & administer the Sacrament to us, & confess us, & shew us the way to Heaven, that is, to keep us from what is bad, correct our lives & absolve our Sins. It is a few years since Canada was taken, & since we have had no father among us; our People grow loose & disorderly, drink too hard & run into many bad practices, which a Father (if we had one among us) would remind us of & correct. It is usual to help the poor: we are poor, & therefore help us in the matter of Religion.

I am a young man & therefore would not talk too much, lest the old men should dislike it. I would say no more upon this.

Gov'r. I am very glad to hear you express so great a regard for Religion: If you are sincere in it, it will be for your good in this World & in the World to come. Its now about a year since you first exprest your desire to me upon this head; I have been mindful of it ever since, but have been doubtful concerning the means to bring it about. I then told you that the Fathers which you have been used to were enemies to our people, & would endeavour to make mischief betwixt us & you, & therefore it behoves me to take care not to introduce secret enemies to our Country; That is one considerable difficult in providing a Father for you; another is, that a Father would want a support & I have no fund to provide it for him.

About two months ago I received a letter from Gov. Murray of Canada & I have received another letter which was directed to Toma one of your chiefs. From those letters I learnt that Toma had applied to Govr. Murray for him to send a Father from Canada; Govr. Murray answered that he would consent to a Father going from Canada If I applied for one. By these means a difficulty was put upon me.

I am the King's deputy, & come immediately from his presence & am answerable to him for every thing I do. If I should apply to Govr. Murray for a Father, or should consent to one going from thence, I should be answerable for him, tho he will be a stranger to me. If he was to do mischief among us, I should be asked how I came to consent to this man's going among you, & I should be answerable to the King my Master for the Mischief he did, by trusting to a man whom I did not know. I therefore thought proper to send Govr. Murray's letter to the King himself together with an account of all that had passed between me & you concerning a Father; & I have desired that a Father may be sent to you, such a one as the King can trust, & then I shall not be answerable for what he does. I will now repeat to the King your request as soon as I get home, & will transmit to him all that passes at this time, & I will do my utmost that that you shall have a Father proper for you, Who (whether french or english) will be such an one as will be capable to administer to you all you want.

Aleser. If any difficulty arises on account of a Father's maintenance, We will provide for that ourselves; He shall live well.

Govr. I have represented to the King that you are poor, & that some salary should be provided for him, as he will want money as well as

> Victuals; however if he has a salary, it will be kind in you to give him some Share out of your hunting.

Bernard in his report to the Home Government continues the story:

> The next day [Sept. 27] I had another conference with (Aleser) which I did not put into writing. In this I used my utmost endeavours to engage them to accept of a Priest of the Church of England, offering to send one to them for the present purpose of baptizing & marrying such as stood in present need of it. But I could make no impression upon him. He said God would be very angry with them, if they should desert the religion he had sent among them. That it was the first they received & they knew it to be good; and it would not be right for them to change their religion as often as the power of the Country changed: God would be much offended with them, if they trifled with his religion in such a manner.

The Governor then made mention of a suspected verbal Jacobitism among the Indians, and comes to his conclusion:

> After all I am as much at a loss what to propose as ever. The Indians must have a Priest of some kind or other: if he be a true Romish Priest, He will keep them estranged from & inimical to Great Britain; flatter the with the expectation of a french revolution; and have them ready to rise upon the least foreign invasion or internal Canadian commotion: & all this by means of their religion. On the other hand a Missionary of the Church of England will meet with great difficulties; but I am far from thinking that they will be insurmountable. He will have a safe & convenient residence at Fort Pownall; & by exercising his functions in the Chapple there (which I have had built there this year) with as much show and form as our Religion will admit of, I am satisfied that the Indians would by degrees be reconciled to it. I mentioned before that a french protestant in English orders would be most suitable upon account of his language ... as well as of his nation. But one who has been a Romish priest & has conformed to the Church of England, if he was sincere & discreet would be most suitable. Canada must afford many such persons: but in general the Priest there are very ignorant and illiterate. Ireland must have such: but he must be master of the French tongue, if not a Frenchman.[34]

In striking contrast to all this stands the Governor's policy about the Acadians. He had written to Lord Halifax on July 28, 1763:

> Many of these people are industrious and would, I believe prefer this country and become subjects of Great Britain in earnest, if they were assured of liberty of Conscience. I observed in the letters which they

[34] Bernard to Lord Halifax, September 29, 1764, *Bernard Papers*, III, 171-174; printed in *Baxter Mss.*, XIII, 370 ff.

> communicated to me that the maintenance of their religion is among the chief motives offered to them [for going to France]. They are not disposed to go to Canada where a toleration of their religion is promised, but chiefly inclined, if they settle [here] at all, to be on the Eastern Coast. There is certainly room enough for them and an hundred times their number, if their settling in a body with the free exercise of their religion under a priest appointed by the English Government should be thought adviseable.... There are but two things wanting on their behalf: the granting them land and tolerating their religion: on the other hand, it should be required of them that they take the oath of allegiance in as full a manner as the papists can do.[35]

By January 9, 1764, Bernard had received the English answer that the Home Government was opposed to settling an Acadian colony "with an established Priest on any part of the Eastern shore." And when he answered this, he still pursued the idea:

> I should not have presumed to have settled these people as a colony with a priest at their head without positive orders. I know very well the great authority the Priest has over them. When they lived in Nova Scotia.... they had no other Legislator or Magistrate but their priest, who exercised a Dominion over them as absolute as it could have been, if he had derived it from any King whatsoever. The best way... would be to keep them where they are; and possibly many might be induced to stay in the old towns, if they could be allowed an itinerant priest to go about now and then and discipline them.—And surely a British Subject of that character might be found who may be trusted with such a Commission.—There is no legal toleration of their religion in this Province as in Quebec; but a connivance at the private exercise of it would, I believe, meet with no exception, tho a public law for that purpose would probably be strongly objected to....[36]

The difference in Bernard's attitude on the religious question between Indians and Acadians was evidently due to his belief that there was hope of Protestantizing the former, but not the latter. Indeed, in a report on the Indians, made on November 17, 1764, he expressed the hope that the Indians "be converted from Popery to Protestantism".

It is interesting to compare his idea about the Massachusetts people's attitude with that of his own lieutenant-governor and successor, Mr. Hutchinson:

> The people would upon no terms have consented to the publick exercise of religious worship by Roman Catholick priests. A law remained unrepealed, though it is to be hoped it would never have been executed,

[35] *Bernard Papers*, II, 83.

[36] *Bernard Papers*, X, 125; III, 136.

> which made it a capital offence in such persons to come within the province. It was suspected that some such were among [the Acadians] in disguise, but it is not probable that any ventured.[37]

The Home Government ignored the Massachusetts governor's suggestion about the Acadians and they left the Province. For neither Indian nor Acadian did Massachusetts provide a priest. Even before the Peace of Paris was known in America, a very influential spokesman of Massachusetts' popular sentiment had published his opinion on the matter in point. Early in 1763, the famous Jonathan Mayhew, in the course of an attack upon the Anglican Church, urged the directors of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to turn their efforts to the evangelization of the Indians. "Had they been more interested in that work," he wrote, "it might have been the means, not only of giving [the Indians] at least some favourable impressions of Christianity in general, but of the protestant religion; and so making the greater part of them our fast friends."[38] The combination of political and commercial with religious advantages in his argument is illuminating:

> And there was the more occasion for taking this course, in order to counter-act the designs of the French, till of late our dangerous enemies and rivals on this continent. They, if not from a principle of piety, yet of sound policy, have all along made a point of sending jesuits, priests and other emissaries to all the Indian tribes that would admit them. .... [The counter-acting their designs in a political as well as religious consideration of things—] might at once have been instrumental of saving many souls, and doing an important service to Great Britain.... We should of course have had a much larger share of the profitable trade with [the Indians].... And many of them might have been brought into the English way of living [and] taken off a greater quantity of British manufactures, and other commodities, to the national advantage. The lives of a great number of British subjects—destroyed by the savages would have been saved. The colonies—would have been in a more flourishing condition—And most of these Indians, instead of being at the command of the French, to cut our throats and scalp us—might have been ready to act for as against them, on any just occasion. (!)[39]
>
> The cession of Canada, if confirmed to Great Britain, will give the several [missionary] Societies in England, Scotland, and New England, advantages for spreading the Gospel among the Heathen in America, much superior to what they would otherwise be. And tho some of the *political* reasons for attempting [it], may not be altogether as strong as they were, while we had the French so near us for rivals and enemies,

[37] Hutchinson, *Hist. of Mass.* (ed. Mayo, Cambridge, Mass., 1936), III, 30.

[38] Jonathan Mayhew, *Observations on the Charter ... of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (Boston, 1763; reprinted, London, 1763), 105, 195.

[39] *Ibid.*, 105 f.

yet all the obligations arising from humanity, piety and charity remain in their full force ...

Some people may perhaps imagine, that since the cession of Canada, etc. there are no motives or reasons besides merely religious ones, to attempt the civilizing and converting the American Indians. That the political ones are lessened in some degree, is not denied; but, that they are wholly ceased, no one can suppose.

To say nothing of the benefits that might result herefrom to the agriculture, fishery, and navigation of the colonies, and to the British commerce, even upon supposition that there was not a jesuit, popish priest, emissary, or one Frenchman upon this continent; it is to be remembered, that human affairs are subject to great changes and revolutions, as we have lately seen, particularly in America. We cannot be certain that others may not take place hereafter, almost as much to our prejudice, as these are to our advantage. At least, human prudence requires that everything of that sort should be guarded against—And one means hereof doubtless is, using the present opportunity of spreading—the Christian Protestant religion among the Natives; and thereby engaging them heartily in the British interest, in opposition to the French.

The reverend and learned Edward Wigglesworth, D.D., Hollisian Professor of divinity at Harvard College in Cambridge, who has thought much and long on the affair of the missions and the Indians, has obliged me with two or three letters, since I have been writing on this subject. In one of them—[he writes]

> Probably it may now be generally thought, that since Canada is reduced, nothing more is to be apprehended from the Indians; but that we shall live in perpetual peace and good neighborhood with them. Though it may be thought a weakness, I must own, that I entertain very different apprehensions. I believe that the French, in spite of all precautions that can be taken, will continue missionaries among all those tribes of Indians, who have been used to have them; and will thrust them into as many others as they possibly can. One great business of these will be, to keep up a strong disaffection to the English in the Savages, in hopes of making use of them, at some future favourable conjuncture, to distress our provinces again, and recover their own losses ... And I know of nothing that can prevent such mismanagements, but our having missionaries among the Indians, who shall be men of genius enough to gain their esteem, and the same ascendancy over them, which the French missionaries get, whenever they come. And if any tribes of Indians now should be set on, by secret French emissaries among them to ravage our new settlements, and murder the inhabitants; I suspect they might live better by it than by hunting.

Mayhew himself sums up his plea thus:

> . . . In a word the necessity of having a considerable number of missionaries among the Indians is so apparent and urgent, in a political, as

> well as religious consideration of things; that one can hardly help entertaining some hopes that the government, either at home or in America, or both, may in their wisdom, see cause to do something towards sending and supporting them: at least, that the several corporations erected in part, if not chiefly for that very end, will pursue it with a zeal adequate to the importance of it.[40]

This long extract from the popular pulpit idol affords a glimpse into the Bostonian ideas of Bernard's day, and may add some understanding of the Governor's policy with the Indians and of his request for an Anglican minister for them.

On November 10, 1764, Lord Halifax replied to Bernard's letter of August 18.[41] He had referred the proposal to the Lords of Trade and signified his own agreement with it. The Lords made the necessary application to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who received it favorably. They decided to give the commission to the Rev. Joseph Bailey, one of their missionaries already in Maine. But before the latter had received his assignment, the Indian tribes on the Kennebec had also asked Gov. Bernard for a priest.

The Norridgewok deputies met the Governor on August 14, 1765, at Boston. They had asked permission to come to Boston, before June, 1764, but had not received it until then. The report of the conference contains the following:

> Nodog said .... "Father, have mercy upon us: we want a priest among us to marry and christen our children. There is no Priest at Wewenok, he that was there is dead." The Governor said .... "About two years ago, the Penobscot Indians made their request for a Priest. I have sent their request home to be laid before the Great King. It was under consideration there: but the King's Council is full of business, and care for the new conquests, so that no order has been as yet given in the affair. If they should provide a Priest for the Penobscots you will have the benefit of him."[42]

[40] Mayhew, *Observations etc.*, 105, 133 ff. After Fr. Maillard's death at Halifax in August, 1762, the Home Govt. adopted the policy of using Anglican ministers for the Indians in Nova Scotia. Cf. *Digest S. P. G. Records,* 110; *Can. Arch. 1894,* 248, 255, 256, 264, 268. By the end of 1763, the failure of this policy was admitted by the Nova Scotia officials.

[41] *Bernard Papers,* X, 250.

[42] *Mass. Arch.*, 29, 493 ff. Wewenok was on the river Puante, later called Becancourt. Gov. Bernard to Genl. Court, June 5, 1764. The priest referred to may well have been Fr. Simon Gounon, S.J., drowned on May 3, 1764, while crossing the St. Lawrence. *Becancourt Records.*

By September 29, 1765, the Rev. Joseph Bailey, Itinerant Missionary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, who was at that time on the Kennebec River, had received his commission to deal with the Indians, and answered the Secretary's letter. In his answer, he wrote:

> About 40 or 50 Indian Men, besides Women and Children, frequent this Neighborhood: They are the Remains of the Ancient Norridgewok Tribe & lead a Rambling Life. They support themselves entirely by hunting, are very savage in their Dress & Manners, but very grateful, where they find themselves well used. They have a language of their own, but universally speak French, & all profess the Romish Religion & visit Canada once or twice a year for Absolution.[43]

The same missionary is quoted as writing on November 18, 1766, that

> matters seem to be happily accomodated with the Indians mentioned in his last. The Aversion these people have to the English Nation is chiefly owing to the Influence of Roman Catholic Miss'ries, who instead of endeavouring to reform their Morals, comply with them in their most extravagant vices, & teach them that nothing is necessary to eternal salvation but to believe in the Name of Christ, to acknowledge the Pope his Holy Vicar & to extirpate the English, because they cruelly murdered the Saviour of Mankind.[44]

Mr. Bailey did not labor on the Penobscot as far as I can learn. But, also as far as I can learn, he was Gov. Bernard's answer to the Penobscots' request for a priest. More than two years had passed since the Indian chief Toma had asked for a "Romish Friar"; at the end of that time, he had received an Anglican minister.

The Government of Massachusetts had not made any exception in its anti-priest legislation at this period. And almost at the same time, the Indians were again satisfied from the direction of Nova Scotia. The Nova Scotia Government, at last realizing that the Home Government acknowledged the failure of its policy of using Anglican ministers for the Indians, and continually pressed by the Indians themselves to fulfill the Treaty of 1760, took the initiative in a return to the former policy. Acting Gov. Green, on August 24, 1766, sent to England what may be considered the announcement of the change.[45] Lt. Gov. Franklin followed this up on September 3 by a similar statement of the case, and formally asked permission to obtain priests for the Indians from the Governor of Canada.[46] On September 11, he wrote again on the same need of having a priest.[47]

[43] *S. P. G. Journal*, 17, 26.

[44] *Ibid.*, 246.

[45] *Can. Arch. 1894*, 270.

[46] *Ibid.*, 271.

[47] *Ibid.*, 272.

On September 23, 1766, the Nova Scotia Council Minutes record a Memorial of John Anderson, Supt. of Indian Affairs on the St. John's River, setting forth that the Indians had renewed their application for a priest to celebrate marriage and baptism among them, of which they had been long in want, and it was resolved, that when the Indians should procure a priest, recommended by the Government of Canada, that he should be licensed to officiate for them.[48]

In the spring of 1767, Lord Wm. Campbell

> being fully persuaded that the Gov't could no longer parry of (*sic*) with safety the Indian Demands for a Priest, conformable to the promises made them at their first making Peace, came to a resolution of writing General Carlton, Governor of Quebec, for One, who was so obliging as to Provide a Young Man who expressly took Orders from the Bishop for that purpose, named Baillie, a Canadian born, and of a reputable family, of landed Property in that Government; this Gentleman has taken the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty, and came to the River of Saint John, late last Fall ....[49]

Franklin made him "a present of Fifty pounds . . ." and told him "that on the Government's approval of his Conduct he might be assured an handsome present annually".[50] This action of the Nova Scotia Government was approved by the Home Government.[51] The Maine Indians were able therefore to go to Canada again for their religious needs.

The Catholic missionary wrote about them, in a letter to Bishop Briand on June 20, 1768:

> A hundred or so leagues from here (Aukpag) is the village of Passaomek [Passadonke?], formerly served by Fr. Gounon, jesuit—. They asked me to visit their village. I did not dare to, for I am approved only for Nova Scotia, and they are subject to Boston, which, they tell me, allows them to have a priest. If that is true, and your Lordship consents, great good would result from it. The village is 30 leagues from the fort of Pentagoet, where there is a merchant. But it will never be possible to establish a store at the village, the river below, as far as the fort, being an impracticable rapids with sharp-edged rocks. Rum can only be transported at great expense and in too small quantity for commerce A missionary would quickly gain a triumph for the grace of Jesus Christ in this place. Those of the savages who came here behaved as true Christians.[52]

[48] *Can. Arch. 1905*, II, 259.

[49] Franklin to Hillsborough, July 20, 1768, in *Ibid.*, 221 ff.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Hillsborough to Campbell, October 12, 1768, *Can. Arch. 1905*, II, 223.

[52] Quebec Archdiocesan Archives.

He did not secure the permission at that time, for in the next year we find him referring to the River St. John as the best place to gather the Indians from " the rivers of pentagoet, of narranchouat, of pessadamokoadi, of monts deserts ".[53]

On August 2, 1769, Governor Bernard left Boston. Shortly before his departure he was presented with the following address:

> Espequeunt, Arexes and Auson Chiefs of the Penobscot nation of Indians address his Excellency Sir Francis Bernard, Baronet Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay as follows—
>
> Brother, We are chosen by the Penobscot nation of Indians to come to Boston to salute your Excellency. Colo. Goldthwait has told us that you was going to see our Father the great King George. We wish you health and happiness and a good sight of him. We pray that you would intercede with him to take pity upon us. We are poor and far out of his sight.
>
> The Lands.....
>
> Brother, We have another request to make to you. It is a long time since we have had any priest among us and if we are kept much longer without one, we shall become like wild Beasts. We think it very hard that other Indian Nations in our neighborhood can have a Priest of their own profession among them, and we be debarred of the same privilege. We are obliged to go a great Journey to St. John's River for a Priest to Baptize our Children and carry our Families with us.
>
> We pray that our Father the great King would pity us and suffer us to have a Priest, a good man, of our own profession to reside among us, that we and our wives and our Children may worship God in the way that we have been taught, which may save us from Eternal death.
>
> It is too late for us at this time of life to learn a new Religion. Those who come after us may follow their own inclinations.
>
> We take this opportunity to thank your Excellency for your kindness to us in a great many instances sunce you commanded this Province and we hope that you will return to it in safety.
>
> Arexes (*mark*) Espequeunt (*mark*) Auson (*mark*)[54]

Under Governor Bernard's administration in Massachusetts (1760-1769) the Catholic Indians in the Province repeatedly requested religious toleration similar to that accorded to the co-religionists of their race in Quebec (September 18, 1759) and in Nova Scotia (February 23, 1760). These various requests were denied, although not openly. Thus for three years, until the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763), the Massachusetts governor delayed his answer to the Indians' request for a priest on the pretext that nothing could be done until the treaty had been formally signed. During this period the Indians were forced to proceed to the St. John's and Becan-

[53] July 22, 1769, *Ibid.*

[54] July 25, 1769, *Mass. State Arch.*, 29: 498. The next day there were questions of Trade and Judges, but nothing more that I can find, about a priest.

court missions to receive the sacraments. After the signature of the treaty, Bernard was forced to find some other excuse. Although he personally promised the Indians (September 19, 1763) that a Roman Catholic priest would be sent them if a proper one could be found, his subsequent course of action indicates that he had no intention of thus acting. He intended to send them a Protestant missionary and actually accomplished this by sending a chaplain to Fort Pownall; he felt that this minister could gradually ingratiate himself with the Indians and thereby make them forget their demands for a Catholic priest. Meantime the governor sought to justify himself with the English Home Government on the grounds that he lacked authority to send a priest. But the Protestant chaplain did not attain the end sought, for the Indians then made their request of Governor Murray of Canada. To this request the Canadian governor was willing himself to accede but he informed the Indians that Bernard should initiate such a measure. This turn of events embarrassed Governor Bernard, who did not want to send a priest, not because the Massachusetts laws (1700) forbade the presence of one within the limits of the Province, but because he felt any priest might be a latent enemy to England and might pervert the English of the Kennebec region.

At this juncture the governor sought to have the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel send an Anglican missionary, who by his exercise of a similar ceremonial would pacify the Indians. This plan was in accord with the sentiment of many prominent Bostonians, such as Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, who felt that Protestantization of the Indians would bring political and commercial advantage to New England. As a result, Rev. Joseph Bailey was sent to the Norridgewok Indians (1765). But the Indians still persisted in their demand for a priest — even offering to pay his salary themselves—renewing it at the eve of Bernard's departure (1769). Later on (1773) they actually had a priest, Father Baillie, for a short time, apparently with the knowledge of the authorities.

In fine it is obvious that Bernard's attitude toward the Catholic Indians was in marked contrast to his attempts to secure a priest for the Acadians in Massachusetts. This difference, which explains his whole Indian policy, lay in the governor's belief that the Indians could be Protestantized while the Acadians could not.

JOHN E. SEXTON.

BOOK REVIEWS

Pope Pius the Eleventh. By PHILIP HUGHES. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. x, 318.)

As might have been expected, Father Hughes has approached the task of biography in the spirit of a trained historian. "What", he asks, in a concluding chapter, "will be the place of Pius XI in history?" The hint of an answer is not without interest:

> Not for another generation and more can that question be answered in any detail. There is about the action of Pius XI that classic brilliance which distinguished Leo XIII ... as a ruler of the universal Church Leo alone of all the popes since Innocent XI is in the same category with him. When we consider the initiative, the courageous readiness to experiment, the immense activity and the vigorous personal action manifested in the whole of the Church and remember that all this is, in the main, a constructional activity, we run little risk in suggesting that the verdict of history will place Pius XI among the very greatest of his predecessors, peer of those whom he has himself styled "the glorious popes of the Counter-Reformation" (p. 313).

Four introductory chapters deal with Achille Ratti as scholar, librarian and writer; as spiritual director, Italian citizen and Alpinist; as Nuncio Apostolic in Poland; and as Archbishop of Milan. Father Hughes shows himself equally at home in such diverse matters as the influence of Dante and Manzoni on the Pope's literary style, the relation of the *Spiritual Exercises* to the religious life, the Masonic background of Italian anti-clericalism, or the problems confronting those who were directing the destinies of the new Poland after the War. The remaining chapters constitute what the author modestly describes as "a book which is a study of the policy of Pius XI" (p. 213). All the great pontifical pronouncements are carefully analyzed and competently discussed. The *Ubi Arcano Dei* (Dec. 23, 1922) is, of course, given special attention as being "the key to all the complex pontifical action of the last fifteen years" (p. 110). Section headings such as Other Sheep, The Foreign Missions, The Eastern Churches, Reunion, Educational Ideals, Marriage, The Cinema, The Social Order, France, Germany, Mexico and Spain recall both the range of the Pope's activity and the problem facing his biographer. The difficult matter of the pope's relations with the Italy of Mussolini is handled at considerable length and with dispassionate discernment. The plain fact is recognized that "from the very beginning of the pontificate, Pius XI has, with the utmost clearness, criticized the Fascist conception of the State" (p. 230). On the other hand, we are reminded that:

> The supposedly informed critics—Catholics among them—who sigh at the spectacle of the Church enslaved to Mussolini, can know nothing at all of the state of things that obtained during the first seven years of the régime, nor the enormous power in matters ecclesiastical which he surrendered by the concordat. And if Pius XI is still grateful to "the man whom Providence set in our way", has he not reason to be, and all future generations of Catholics' in Italy with him? For the first time in centuries, let it be repeated, the Church in Italy can really breathe without the permission of the officials of the State (p. 225).

The pope's personality is, for the most part, allowed to reveal itself in the narration of facts and the analysis of policy. At times, however, the author turns directly to the pope's character.

> He was not of that race of scholars who are unaware of the world outside their books. His interests were always universal, nothing that touched man ever failed to interest him (p. 45) ... The Pope's whole temperament is, in fact, to speak philosophically, cast for the irascible emotions. Action and attack are in his blood. Fortitude, that stimulates in the presence of fear and that tempers impetuosity before attack, is his characteristic virtue. He can afford to look events in the face, and to know all the facts, for it is his nature to be happiest when he is facing them (pp. 269-270).

The proof-reading has not been perfect. "Briardo" (p. 12) should read "Boiardo"; and the *no* of "se no vale" (p. 24) should, of course, be *ne*. Nor can the translation of Dante's "cara e buona imagine paterna" as "dear good picture of our father" (p. 32) fairly be called felicitous.

GERALD G. WALSH, S.J.

Fordham University.

The Addresses and Sermons of His Excellency the Most Reverend Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States. (New York: Benziger. 1938. Pp. ix, 348. $2.50.)

The value of this book lies in the importance of the sermons and addresses of the Apostolic Delegate. Because of the high station Archbishop Cicognani occupies and because of his brilliant scholarship, the record is imposing. Many of these pronouncements were made on the occasion of episcopal consecrations and installations, jubilees of ecclesiastical personages and localities. Many of them were delivered at conventions and meetings of Catholic learned and professional societies. Others again in goodly number were made at sessions to promote the devotional life of Catholics. Whatever the occasion that called them forth, these sermons and addresses are redolent of the spirit of the Church in a style that will delight the learned and yet be understood by those of lesser intellectual acumen. Some deal with the life of the people more directly, such as

those dealing with the sanctity of the home, Christian education and Catholic Action. Doubtless, there is much in this volume that is more than merely interesting and instructive. The student of the history of the Church in the United States will find it of great value. History is not merely a chronicle of events. It is imperative for the scholarly historian to understand the spirit that quickens important occasions. He can gage this excellently from the words of the Apostolic Delegate on these various solemnities and observances. The sermons and addresses, sixty-seven in number, are attractively preserved in durable form through this book. The chronological index gives graphically the sequence of events of historical importance in which Archbishop Cicognani took a notable part. A general index and an index of persons enhances its utility. The great and exacting labors of the Apostolic Delegation has not stilted the life of activity of this illustrious prelate. In his unfailing zeal and charity, he has brought messages of great value to many assemblies through the length and breadth of the United States.

GEORGE BONIFACE STRATEMEIER, O.P.

The Catholic University of America.

History of the Church. By JOSEPH LORTZ, translated and adapted from the fourth German edition by EDWIN G. KAISER, C.PP.S., S.T.D. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. xvi, 573.)

Father Kaiser has done a real service to all teachers and students of Church history by his translation of Dr. Lortz's *Geschichte der Kirche.* Occasionally the translation might have been considerably improved upon; the proofs might have been more carefully read; the numeration of the paragraphs, the use of various fonts, the italics of the original might have been preserved; but why find fault with details when the book as a whole proves such a welcome visitor? Dr. Lortz's work is more than another compendium of Church history. It is unique in its field. Events are chronicled and characters are sketched; but there is a minimum of factual data. Stress is laid on interpretation, on penetration of the past, on *Ideengeschichte, Sinndeutung der christlichen Vergangenheit,* as the subtitle of the original clearly indicates. The author does not merely try to find out *how* things really happened, but *why* they happened. He presents the *ideas* that predominated at a given time, and shows how they developed. He points out the various national, international, cultural, political and moral factors with which the Church has had to contend from the very beginning to the present time, and explains how in her action and reaction toward them she has lost or gained. It is this attention to the "settings" of each period of the Church's history that gives Lortz's work its special flavor. Another characteristic is its stress on the "Catholic synthesis". "There is one formal term," he says, "to which

we must ever recur in order to manifest the truth, the riches, and the pre-eminence of the Church over all other religions and systems, that of *catholicity*, of universality, of *synthesis*. No other formula so enriches the mind and spirit in the study of the Church's history. The Church is a system of the mean which forms a synthesis of all values from both extremes. In an incredibly long and varied history she has displayed the power of avoiding all one-sidedness and exaggeration in that which is essential to her. . . Naturally we dare not confuse synthesis with arbitrary mixing. The first premise for this synthesis is uncompromising firmness in adherence to truth. Synthesis is organic growth. . . ." The author divides his work into four parts or ages: the Greco-Roman Age (to A. D. 476), the German-Roman Age (476–1450), the Age of Nationalism Accepting Revelation (1450 to 1700), and the Age of Nationalism Hostile to Revelation (1700 to the present). There is much to be said in favor of such a division. Too little space, it seems to this reviewer, is devoted to the period of the great Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and too much to certain events in the author's own country; France since 1870 is ignored, and the Church in the United States gets only a few lines. On the other hand pre-Reformation conditions and the causes of the Protestant revolt are given full treatment, and the internal and spiritual developments within the Church in the course of the centuries are admirably portrayed. Most of the problems and controverted questions which confront the student of Church history are briefly but carefully stated and commented upon (*E. g.*, Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals p. 186, Charlemagne and the Saxons p. 175 f., the Inquisition p. 240, the Bull *Unam Sanctam* p. 262, German Mysticism p. 276 ff., the Papacy and the Renaissance p. 327 ff., Savonarola p. 338 ff., Galileo p. 431 f., Tolerance p. 449 f., Suppression of the Jesuits p. 452 ff., the Church and Modern Culture p. 516 ff.). The reader may not always agree with the author's point of view, but it is always a point of view worth serious consideration. All in all, Dr. Lortz's work, though in the estimation of some critics it may prove insufficient as a college or seminary text, is indispensable for the teacher of Church history and for every student as a supplementary text. *Tolle, lege!*

JOHN J. LAUX.

Covington, Ky.

A History of the Expansion of Christianity. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. Vol. 1. *The First Five Centuries.* (New York and London: Harper Brothers. 1937. Pp. xxiv, 412. $3.50.)

The first volume of this scholarly work covers the period of the history of Christianity from its foundation to the conversion of the Roman Empire. Few if any noteworthy facts escape the notice of this competent historian. An amazing bibliography, arranged according to chapters and

a complete index give the work a form that is unsurpassed. The value of this volume consists in a large measure in the fact that it brings together in one place practically all that is known from historical sources about the origin and spread of Christianity during this period. Indeed, it is contended that not since Harnack's *Mission and Expansion of Christianity* has there appeared a work comparable in scholarship and exhaustive research. This claim to distinction, however, it must be observed, is offset by the fact that it also brings together nearly all the erroneous opinions of scholars concerning this period. If the author can be compared to Harnack in scholarship, the comparison is no less apt in error and danger to the Christian reader.

One is impressed primarily by the author's apparent honesty especially as set forth in the introduction. He proclaims himself free from prejudices, either for or against the Christian claims, and from the announcement of his purposes one would expect a work as close to objective history and as free from *a priori* judgments as is possible to obtain. How far the work falls short of this objective will be evident from a careful study of the book. In a brief review, we can only take cognizance of a few points. A historian must take facts as they are presented to him in historical sources. If it be a sin of scholarship to allow one's philosophy or religion to prejudice one in favor of accepting facts there recorded, it is no less a sin to allow prejudice and disregard for the supernatural to cause one to reject them. Many objections can be brought against this work on religious and philosophical grounds. We here confine ourselves to a few that can be made on the grounds of history alone.

The reader barely gets started when he is confronted with the theory of evolution in all its ramifications and species. Whatever may be said for the theory on scientific grounds, certainly history has not much to offer in its defense. Indeed, the contrary is true. It is an occasion for wonder that a historian, as a historian and laying claim to nothing else, can be so sure of it. It is to be noted that he carefully avoids citing the primary historical sources on this point. What is the Christianity whose expansion is here described? The author himself admits that this is a difficult question. If it is the Christianity that set out from Jerusalem, pervaded the world and remains today essentially the same in the Catholic Church, the problem is not such a difficult one, but the answer the author offers is entirely incorrect. If on the other hand it is Christianity divided into various sects, in many things opposed to the religion Christ established, then the problem is not only difficult but impossible. This is the sense in which the author uses the term. He looks upon various heretical sects and denominations as accidental divisions much the same as all the various religious Orders. Such divisions he says are indications of vitality in any faith and when they cease to appear that faith becomes somnolent or moribund. Historical evidence well indicates that this is only partly cor-

rect. Indeed, in many instances the reverse is true. Are we to look upon the evident disintegration of Protestantism as an indication that Christianity itself is faltering? The uncompromising Catholic Church is the answer to that question. Because of the weight of historical evidence the author recognizes Jesus Christ as the founder of Christianity. Despite the very same evidence, he disregards the resurrection of Christ from the dead, acknowledging at most that there was a general conviction that He had risen. An explanation of the spread of Christianity that disregards miracles historically evident, especially the resurrection, is not only erroneous but also dishonest. If the acceptance of these important facts is predicated upon preconceived notions about the reality and influence of the supernatural, their rejection is predicated no less upon preconceived disregard for it. It is asserted that many Catholic scholars approve this work without reservation. The reviewer does not wish to question the scholarship of these men. It is not too much, however, to question their Catholicism.

J. W. O'Brien.

The Catholic University of America.

Mediaeval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson. Edited by James Lea Cate and Eugene N. Anderson. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1938. Pp. x, 499. $4.50.)

These essays by former students of Professor Thompson represent a wide range of subjects, thus reflecting the broad interests of a master teacher and mediaevalist, as shown in the appended bibliography of his works. The general level of the book does honor to the training received under him, several of the authors making valuable contributions; although the documentation would sometimes have been improved by using better editions of texts than those in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*. Of particular interest for mediaeval Church history are the essays by Doctors Bergendoff, Bittermann, Cate, Joranson, and McNeill. The first sketches the life, times and influence of St. Birgitta of Sweden, with excellent translations from her *Visions* and a scholarly bibliographical note. The second brilliantly surveys "The Beginning of the Struggle Between the Regular and the Secular Clergy". The third, a valuable study of "The Church and Market Reform in England During the Reign of Henry III", depicts the efforts of the papacy, English episcopacy and English government for the removal of markets, etc., from holy days and places; offers a plausible explanation of the origins of this movement; and gives an appendix of cases at law. Dr. Joranson's monumental essay, "The Palestine Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion", furnishes a masterly historiography; a narrative of events on the expedition, with numerous corrections of mistakes by other writers; and strong evidence that Henry's motive was genuine religious devotion, rather than the formation of a treasonable alliance against

Frederick Barbarossa. Dr. McNeill's "The Emergence of Conciliarism" manifests extensive reading and wise interpretation of materials for the background and early years of this movement, but makes no original contributions. Dr. Edler's detailed but interesting study of a great Antwerp firm, with numerous correspondents elsewhere in Europe, is the book's outstanding contribution. It furnishes a rich mine of materials for the study of many lines of historical development in the first half of the sixteenth century, particularly between 1538-1544. Many specific facts and suggestions are offered that possess great value for the following: international relations, general social and economic life, fairs, credit, industries, trade, depressions, mercantilism, transportation, and art. Incidentally, much light is thrown on the history of other countries, as well as of the Netherlands, sometimes filling gaps and correcting mistakes in the works of other authorities. Dr. Edler bases this essay upon intensive research in German Day-books, Netherlandish Municipal and State Archives, and especially the Letter-book of the firm treated. Her newly revealed primary sources she abundantly supplements and reinforces by materials from a wide range of narrative histories, monographs and learned articles, of which several are by Dr. Edler. Delightful human interest touches and an attractive style vivify a decidedly solid achievement.

The essays by Doctors Drinkwater and Lauer, respectively, sketch the rise of a great Italian town, Subiaco, and of "The South German *Reichsstaedte* in the Late Middle Ages", correlated with religious, social and economic developments of their times. Doctors MacKinney, Ross, Tschan and Welborn discuss certain topics in intellectual and aesthetic history. The first correlates "Mediaeval Medical Dictionaries and Glossaries" with the development of medicine and culture, and with classical and Arabic influence. The second adds to our knowledge of the twelfth-century renaissance by showing that interest in the antiquities of Rome, at that time, tended to be humanistic, as well as antiquarian. The third increases our appreciation of mediaeval art by providing a scholarly and well-written biography of the bishop-artist, Bernwald of Hildesheim. The fourth, in spite of a technical title, depicts, in a delightfully human manner, the physicians of the fourteenth century: their ideals, frailties, relations with patients and their families, problems, fees, and ideas of mental hygiene and of preventive medicine.

Among the historiographical essays, that by Dr. Anderson on "Meinecke's *Ideengeschichte*" impresses this reviewer as exaggerating the present crisis in historical thinking and the historical-mindedness of the Germans, as compared with others; while the author, like many other philosophers of history, is frequently too abstract and subjective. Dr. Bossenbrook performs a useful service in his excellent essay "Justus Möser's Approach to History", by describing the environment, ideas and influence of that historian. Dr. Miller's convenient sketch of "Theodore Roosevelt, His-

torian" is not especially original. Dr. Padover's "Kautsky and the Materialist Interpretation of History" is a heavily annotated biography and interpretation of that radical, but adds nothing essentially new. Dr. Tompkins' "The Varangians in Russian History" is a decidedly valuable narrative and evaluation of the historiography and controversies concerning that people.

This book of *Festschriften* is especially to be recommended to advanced students.

THOMAS P. OAKLEY.

Fordham University.

Die Reformen in der Abtei Rijnsburg im 15. Jahrhundert. By MARIA HUEFFER. (Münster i/w.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1937. Pp. xv, 198. RM. 6.56.)

The title of this book is misleading since only 70 of the 161 pages of the text bear on the actual subject, while the rest deal with matters more or less pertinent, such as the foundation and early history of the abbey, the chronology of the abbesses and a brief survey of the final days of the institution. The convent was founded in the year 1133 by the Countess Petronilla, spouse of Count Floris II of Holland and half-sister of Emperor Lothar III of Supplinburg. Its original members came from the abbey Stotteringen in the Harz mountains and followed the rule of St. Benedict. It was richly endowed with landed estates. The observance of the rule until the beginning of the reforms in the fifteenth century was taken lightly. The abbey served chiefly as a home for the unmarried daughters of the higher and lower nobility in the northern Netherlands. In the religious persecution which swept over the Netherlands in the second half of the sixteenth century the community was dissolved. The buildings themselves were destroyed in 1574. Neither in the ecclesiastical nor the secular history of the Empire has the abbey played any important part and, hence, it commands only a local and very restricted interest. Still, as a contribution to the general knowledge of Benedictine convents in their day of prosperity and decline and, more particularly, to the history of monastic reforms, the study, resting on painstaking research, is not without value. An appendix contains nine documents in Latin devoid, however, of any general historical significance.

H. J. BRUEHL.

The Catholic University of America.

Alexandre Farnèse, Prince de Parme, Gouverneur-général des Pays Bas (1549–1592). Vol. V (1585–1592). By LÉON VAN DER ESSEN. (Brussels; Nouvelle Société d'Editions. 1937. Pp. xix, 424.)

M. Van der Essen brings to a close his study of the career and personality of Alexander Farnese in this final volume of his biography. To the end he has maintained the high standard of his laborious scholarship and to the end holds the interest of the reader. The events herein described deal with the last seven years of Farnese's life, the most controverted portion of his career. The Armada and the expeditions into France were policies with which Farnese was not wholly in accord and the question of the degree of support he gave to Philip is not easily solved. M. Van der Essen, while not absolving his hero from all blame in the affair of the Armada and in the negligences in the administration of the Low Countries, rather inclines to uphold the views of Farnese. Though Philip and Farnese were in fundamental agreement on the duty and necessity of defending the Faith, they did not approach the solution from exactly the same angle. Farnese saw the defense of religion and Catholic culture more frequently from the military side. As a soldier this was his *métier*. Philip approached it more from the point of view of the statesman. Both were convinced that the issue at stake was the preservation of the traditional culture of Europe through the Faith, but Philip by his very position had wider sources of information and a degree of responsibility that did not rest upon Farnese. What was the nature of this attack on European civilization and who were the responsible agents? It is a loss that M. Van der Essen does not discuss this more deeply. In earlier volumes he does bring out the clash between the Catholic and non-Catholic cultures and shows how it became concrete in the commercial issues and the demand for liberty of cult. Neither Farnese or Philip had much sympathy for the cry of liberty of conscience since both understood too well the equivocal arguments behind the cry. Both also knew too much of the Anabaptists in action not to have lost confidence in the constructive abilities of the Reformers. But both respected too deeply the true basis of such liberty not to be willing to meet the other side more than half way. When it was seen that the granting of liberty of conscience, or tolerance, was not the objective of the other party, then Philip became adamant and laid down conditions beyond which he would not yield. His opponents recognized this in him and therefore aimed to push him to the point where to hold that limit he must fight.

M. Van der Essen gives no indication that Farnese appreciated as clearly as Philip the peculiar nature and quality of the attack then developing. As all competent historians admit, Philip was concerned with the preservation of the Catholic religion in Europe, in the world. Humanly speaking this depended on a certain balance, not a balance of power, as

superficial students of history assume glibly, but a balance to circumscribe the area within which the attack against the Church might work. This is of course the central problem of Christendom and of civilization. This was in the background of the thought both of Philip and Farnese. To proceed to the practical problem of solution demanded first a knowledge of the centers of the attack and the agents, and secondly a plan. Were the centers localized? At first both Philip and Farnese seemed to think they were, in the Low Countries; but as Philip's knowledge, experience and information were brought to bear on the problem, he came not to be so sure. Once the reformers took up arms where they considered Philip to be weakest, the military defense had to go into action. Unless they were held back there would be no possibility of isolating their offensive. So advised Philip's military experts, and his council, though divided, gave him support. In 1566 the most influential center of attack seemed to be Antwerp and Brabant. For some years previously Philip's agents had been reporting to him the subversive activities of the group of which William the Silent, Egmont and Montigny were the leaders. He learned of the ramifications of their connections and the policies of their financial backers. The widespread interests of the Marrano families of Spain, their commercial connections and their diplomatic interests were known to him. In a letter of September 13, 1566, Margaret of Parma warned him of the plan to provoke a general revolution in the Low Countries which should eventually spread to Austria, France and to England. In a letter to Don Juan, April 8, 1576, Philip made clear that on the conservation of the Catholic religion in the Low Countries depended the conservation of all the rest. For this reason he approved the military efforts of Alva, of Don Juan and of Parma. Their military successes, particularly of Parma, were coming too near to success and the anti-Catholic leaders were truly fearful. They called into play all the support they could muster on the Rhine, from England and from France. Most congenial was the aid from England (though the English forces were not liked). They never seemed quite to trust the aid from France. But in England the circumstances, the taste of the people for commercial adventures offered a broad basis of support and for a military balance of power without which toleration could not be kept in being as they understood it.

Philip from this international viewpoint saw the shifts in the problem and in particular appreciated that the strategic military points while always constant received varying emphasis. His father had done what he could to isolate the anti-Catholic action in the German lands though he was a little late in seeing the significance of events. Philip turned to the Low Countries. He was slow to decide whether after the fall of Antwerp the center would lie in France or in England and therefore he was hesitant in his decisions. Possibly he did not overestimate the military effort and the Spanish resources in either case. He hoped by diplomacy to ward off

a military decision. Parma considered England the greater military danger but he too realized the military limits. He also tried diplomacy and M. Van der Essen makes clear how he played for time hoping to meet Marnix half way on the tolerance issue, trusting to divide his enemies. Marnix and his group fell back on English support. Neither they or the advisors of the English Queen had any illusions as to the irreducible demands of Philip. It was decided in England to play Philip's game and isolate in turn the area in which Catholic culture could flourish. Here Philip's insight failed him and he permitted this policy by playing the diplomatic game with those whom he knew to be false though he could not quite credit how false. The English advisors of the Queen wanted to play for time to throw down the gage when Philip would be obliged to take it up and the burden of offense be on him. Their military effort would be just enough in the Low Countries to make certain the military balance of power there against Philip. M. Van der Essen analyzes the English policy only from the point of view of making a stir in the Low Countries just sufficient to serve the interests of England and considers that Leicester went beyond his instructions. This he did on the words of the documents but not if we consider the policies as a whole. All together these forced Philip to the Armada.

On this plan Philip and Parma were to part company though he yielded to the orders of his King. Philip was not able to come to a sufficiently rapid decision to attack England. He did not wish to risk a decision until the international situation was as favorable as he could make it. He was short of money. He was impatient with the papal policies and uncertain about France and so missed perhaps the most favorable time to send forth his Armada. Parma seemed to feel that the center of the attack was England, and England's center the Low Countries. First Holland and Zeeland should be subdued. Until then he could not play with success the important link assigned to him in Philip's plan. Philip saw the strategic center in England and thought he could win without Holland and Zeeland because of France. So Parma prepared for his task without heart. Philip did not admit final failure with the loss of the Armada. He turned to make France secure. The situation created by the death of Henry III and the candidacy of Henry of Navarre caused him much alarm and he must guard the Low Countries by saving France. Parma again disagreed with this policy and warned that to use his armies in France would lose Philip all he had gained in the Low Countries, for he did not have the resources for both places, and hardly for one. In relating this part of the story M. Van der Essen seems less than fair to Philip because he does not place the destiny of Parma in its true international significance and the issues at stake were broader than he admits in this volume. He sees Philip too much preoccupied with himself and with men. For this reason this reviewer considers he misunderstands Philip's dismissal of Parma.

Of all rulers he was perhaps the most impersonal. It is this quality in him which riles his subjective critics. But any ruler whose destiny takes him into a wide international stage must be impersonal to the extent that he must orientate his policy from one simple principle. Philip illustrates this. But again a man with a simple principle must be impersonal. It is a tragic position for a man. Parma himself on a smaller scale was not spared this fate. To Philip his simple principle was to preserve his Church. In this he did not fail, nor did Parma. Parma saved for him what was then possible and more than seemed possible when Philip assumed the throne. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that what man can do in the preservation of the Church is to permit to her liberty of action, a *point d'appui* as it were. This his soldiers won for him where it was necessary. But he aimed further, to defeat the attack. This is the work of the Church, and so his plan was defeated, not because it was not a good plan, but because of what is called accidents. In these it was Parma's fate, perhaps, to play a decisive part.

So it would seem that M. Van der Essen does not quite give us all of Philip or all of Parma in these important events. His five-volumed study is none the less a delight. American readers not usually well informed on these events in the Low Countries will find them most useful, and in this volume in particular will profit by the light cast upon Henry IV and Mayenne. Parma seemed to have used war as it should be used with the end in view of preserving peace, a paradox beyond our pacificists to interpret. This biography can do much to educate them. It should be well digested by all those who aim to teach peace, a necessary requisite for which is the careful writing of men like M. Van der Essen.

M. R. MADDEN.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Letters of Saint Vincent de Paul. By JOSEPH LEONARD, C.M. Introduction by Henri Bremond of the French Academy. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1937. Pp. xxiii, 614. 21 *s.*)

It is commonly estimated that Saint Vincent de Paul was the author of not less than 30,000 letters to persons of every rank and calling during the period of his long and busy life (1581-1660). He wrote them in his own hand until 1645. During the last fifteen years of his life, however, he dictated them, with comparatively few exceptions, to his secretary, Bertrand Ducournau, and to his assistant secretary, Louis Robineau, lay brothers of the Congregation. The task of collecting them, begun by his admirers and friends and the members of his Congregation already during the latter years of his life, was undertaken systematically immediately after his death.

In less than a century after the death of Saint Vincent only a fifth of the total number seems to have been extant. Father Peter Collet, a Priest of the Mission, states in the introduction to his *Vie de Saint Vincent de Paul*, published at Nancy in 1748, that only about six thousand were available for his consultation. A considerable number was destroyed by fire in the pillaging of Saint-Lazare on July 15, 1789. Many others were lost or mislaid during the Revolutionary period that followed. Moreover, the policy of making liberal gifts of letters to friends and benefactors, pursued for many years, helped still further to deplete the number.

Prior to 1870 various letters were published in scattered editions. After this year the Priests of the Mission began gathering all available letters in anticipation of making them accessible to the members of the Congregation in a complete and uniform edition. Accordingly, in 1880, the *Lettres de Saint Vincent de Paul*, containing 2,041 letters, appeared in four octavo volumes (Paris). A supplementary volume, containing one hundred new letters, was added in 1888. New discoveries were made in subsequent years.

Letters that might appeal to the general public, eight hundred and sixty in number, were drawn from the edition of 1880 and published in two octavo volumes in 1882. Father Pierre Coste, C.M., likewise published a volume of select letters in 1911. With the exception of these two editions, all collections were intended for private circulation. As late as 1918, Abbé Henri Bremond, the illustrious author of the introduction to the work now under review, broke out in holy indignation: "The completed works of Vincent de Paul—letters, conferences to the Fathers of the Mission and the Daughters of Charity—eight large volumes, rich in doctrine, sparkling with humor, in which I have not encountered a single commonplace line . . . are even to-day not on sale to the general public. They are, as I am well aware, very kindly given to strangers who have been urged by curiosity to become acquainted with these writings; but they are unknown to the general public." (pp. 19-20).

Widespread and ever-increasing requests and a suggestion of the Apostolic See at length determined the authorities of the Congregation of the Mission to publish Saint Vincent's entire writings. The task of preparing a critical and definitive edition devolved upon the late scholarly student and historian of Vincentian lore, Father Pierre Coste. Of the twelve volumes that appeared between the years 1920 and 1924, the first eight contain the saint's correspondence, *i.e.*, 3,316 letters. Not all of these, however, were written by Saint Vincent. A large number of letters from his correspondents is included.

Of the letters published by Father Coste, Father Joseph Leonard has selected, translated and embodied in *Letters of Saint Vincent de Paul* two hundred and thirty-two of general appeal written by the saint, along with twelve of special interest addressed to him by various correspondents. To

these have been added a long quotaton from one of Saint Vincent's addresses to his priests and three documents illustrative of points referred to in the letters.

In the introduction (pp. 1-30) Abbé Bremond attempts to reconstruct the figure of Saint Vincent, "sadly simplified, vulgarised and impoverished" by legend and, until recent years, by his "quasi-official portrait." He proceeds along three distinct lines: (a) In the words of M. de Montmorand, "one should not imagine Vincent as a stained-glass saint with his head from childhood crowned with a *nimbus*. . . Vincent is a man of flesh and blood who never ceased from developing" (p. 500, note 1); (b) Saint Vincent "always loved to belittle himself, but the man who would thus take him at his word would be credulous and short-sighted" (p. 2); and (c) "Of all his models in the spiritual life, it was, I think, M. de Bérulle who made the deepest impression" (p. 24). It is to be regretted, however, that our confidence in the value of a work, otherwise replete with the most recent findings, should be jarred by a portrait of character, no matter how admirable and correct in itself, drawn from former and, possibly in some cases, obsolete sources. Abbé Brémond drew his character sketch of Saint Vincent prior to the publication of Father Coste's monumental works and died before he had an opportunity of revising his views in the light of the new mateiral now available.

The text throughout is profusely and substantially documented and annotated. It seems, however, that the convenience of the reader would have been better served were the notes attached to the pages to which they belong. The work has its greatest value in being a companion volume to the biography of Saint Vincent by Father Coste, *Le Grand Saint du Grand Siècle: Monsieur Vincent*. It has, however, independent value and furnishes a wealth of new material never before available to English readers.

CYPRIAN EMANUEL, O.F.M.

Franciscan College,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Marie Pauline Jaricot. 2 vols. By DAVID LATHOUD. (Paris: La Bonne Presse. 1937. Pp. 268.)

The first volume, which deals with the origin and the development of the Propagation of Faith, is well documented. The author admits that the "Propagation de la Foi, au sens large du mot, est une association créée en France par les Directeurs des Missions Etrangères, approuvée par un Indult Pontifical le 30 novembre, 1877" (p. 95). However, it was from the Oeuvre Jaricot that the founders borrowed: "Le sou par semaine, la collecte par dizaines, les *Annales*, les feuilles de perception, le nom de Propagation de la Foi, et l'universalité du but" (pp. 185-188). Pius XI, in 1922, moved the seat of this organization from France to Rome. As

Lathoud points out, this was due to the universality of the movement and because of the wisdom of its founder and exponent, Marie Pauline Jaricot. The author has used some forty manuscript sources in the compilation of this volume. He closes it by giving in the Appendix a brief history of the Conseil Supérieur de Paris from July, 1822, to January, 1831. Thus one is able to see clearly the important rôle played by Marie Pauline Jaricot.

The second volume deals with the intimate life of Marie Pauline and in some respects it is superior to the first volume. This work shows that Marie Pauline combined action with prayer. Although she lived some seventy-five years ago she faced problems which are being faced today. Understanding that there were to be some amicable relations between capital and labor, she founded what was to be a model Christian factory. It failed, but this was due to her collaborators. She developed the Propagation of Faith and took a deep interest in the cause of the laborer. She can readily be called the founder of Catholic Action in France. This second volume can serve as an inspiration to the Catholic worker, and indeed much can be learned from the methods that she used in dealing with the laboring class.

LEON BAISIER.

Loyola University, New Orleans, La.

Mathieu de Castro, Premier vicaire apostolique aux Indes; Une création de la Propagande à ses débuts. Par DOM THÉODORE GHESQUIÈRE. (Louvain: Bureaux de la *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*. 1937. Pp. 150.)

When in 1622 Gregory XV set up a central commission with unlimited powers to direct and control the mission activities of the Church he inaugurated a new era. Reading history backwards, we discern the workings of a divine Providence in the foundation of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. Its spirit, its methods, and the whole machinery of its centralized organization were a preparation for the future. The Congregation finds eloquent justification for its earlier policies in the latest pronouncements of Pius XI, in the well-knit, world-embracing mission system of the twentieth century, in the hundred years and more of expansion in America under its guidance. The historian of the Propaganda can afford to be magnanimous in dealing with the human elements whose shortsightedness, selfishness or perversity clouded its origins. Unlovable characters often acted from questionable motives. And over a period of two centuries the Congregation had little to show in the way of tangible results. Historical circumstance was, of course, a determining factor. But Dom Gresquière's study of the first vicar apostolic, Mathieu de Castro (to employ his Frenchified form), illumines an intricate scene in which human failings worked toward ultimate good. Castro arrived in Rome in

1625. A Brahmin with grandiose plans for the conversion of his own people, possessed of ability, energy and zeal, he appeared to be the ideal instrument for which the new Congregation, in the person of its ultra-efficient secretary, was seeking. His studies in philosophy and theology completed, he entered upon his rather stormy missionary career in 1631. Six years later he was given episcopal consecration, and became the pioneer vicar apostolic of the Propaganda. His adventures during the next twenty years in India, in Ethiopia, and back again in India make interesting reading. His importance lies, however, not so much in what he did, nor even in his defects. It is rather the complex historical situation that makes this book a valuable contribution to mission history. The Propaganda undertook to bind the missions more closely to Rome. At this distance in time it is quite easy to see the wisdom of this policy. Three hundred years ago it was not so easy. Extensive and exclusive privileges had been accorded the crown of Portugal. More than a century of service seemed to justify resentment when Portuguese privileges were ignored or circumvented. The fact that little Portugal (then under the King of Spain) was unable to discharge the duties implied by the Patroado was ample reason for establishing independent missions. But a sense of declining strength did not predispose the proud little nation to accept the situation. The further fact that the Jesuits, armed with generous privileges from Rome and conscious of a rather creditable record, were the natural allies of Portugal served only to complicate matters. Here we have a sufficient explanation for the disappointments of the intemperate and tactless Castro, backed as he was by a small-minded secretary of the Propaganda. Dom Ghesquière does an excellent job in untangling the confused and conflicting records.

R. Corrigan, S.J.

St. Louis University.

De S. Laurentii A Brundusio Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum Activitate Apostolica Ac Operibus. Testimoniorum Elenchus Quem Collegit et Ordine Disposuit, Adm. Rev. P. Dr. Hieronymus a Fellette, Ord. Min. Cap. (Venice: Typogr. S. Marci. 1937. Pp. xxxvi, 309.)

The present work, written in Latin but containing excerpts in various modern languages, is a study of the life, times and activities of the apostolic missionary, St. Lawrence of Brindisi, famous preacher, linguist, author and Minister General of the Order of the Capuchins (b. July 22, 1559; d. July 22, 1619; beatified by Pius VI, in 1783; canonized by Leo XIII, Dec. 8, 1881; feast variably celebrated on July 6, 22, 23, 24). St. Lawrence of Brindisi in virtue alone of his exalted position in the Capuchin Order as Minister Provincial of the Provinces of Tuscany (1590), of Venice (1594) and of Switzerland (1590); as Definitor General (1596); as Commissary-General over Tyrol and Bavaria (1596); as Vicar General

(1602) and shortly thereafter as Minister General of the whole Order of Capuchins (1602-05) would merit a generous biography. It was he who in 1599 introduced his Order into Austria and Bohemia. In all of these capacities he exercised in an eminent degree the virtues that should distinguish an exemplary superior—piety, wisdom, prudence. But Lawrence of Brindisi was not only a devout Capuchin. Like the Seraphic Founder of the Franciscan Order he too was a "vir apostolicus", working incessantly for the cause of Mother Church, either at home by preaching and teaching her doctrines, or on foreign fields by combating her foes, temporal as well as spiritual, military as well as intellectual. He became one of the most famed pulpit orators of his day, not only in Italy and Germany, but likewise in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Bohemia and Hungary. His hearers were manifold: religious, the faithful at large, heretics, Hebrews. He disputed with the latter in their own language which, as many admitted, he spoke more fluently than they themselves. Like another St. Anthony of Padua he was a perpetual hammerer of heretics; like another St. Francis of Assisi, a beloved preacher to the poor and neglected faithful; like another St. Bonaventure, a model of profound learning, personal example and prudent government to religious of his own and other communities. His hearers not only embraced all classes of men but likewise those of all nationalities. He spoke fluently Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, German, French and Spanish, besides his native Italian, so much so that many are of the opinion that like the Apostles and other great apostolic missionaries, he was endowed with the supernatural gift of tongues. His sermons manifested his profound knowledge of the Scriptures, writings of the Fathers and of the profane sciences. Due to his deep learning, gift of languages and prudent intercourse with men, he was often sent as the representative of popes and princes to perform delicate missions of political diplomacy.

Father Hieronymus a Fellette divides his study into two parts: the first dealing with the life and apostolic activities of St. Lawrence of Brindisi; the second, with his literary productions, including his dogmatic tracts, sermons and letters. The conclusions at which the author arrives in both parts are substantiated by pertinent citations from Roman pontiffs, bishops, secular princes and learned ecclesiastics. The work is preceded by a list of unedited sources preserved in various European archives; by 49 printed biographies and 115 other literary books consulted. The formal canonical judicial processes drawn upon the occasion of the beatification and canonization as also the 29 photographic reproductions of the saint's life are particularly interesting. While the former evidence the author's literary resourcefulness, the latter (while not complete) give a pleasing embellishment to the work and demonstrate the high regard in which Lawrence of Brindisi was held by the peoples of all Europe. Due to his learning, holiness and zeal for souls he is looked upon in Germany

as a second St. Peter Canisius. The Capuchins in particular throughout the world looked upon him as one of their greatest glories. Many of their provinces have selected him as the patron of their preachers, in common with St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure, their patron of philosophy, theology and sacred eloquence; whereas the Order as such has constituted him the patron of their International College at Rome where their future lectors and preachers are trained; and the patron of their "Schola Scriptorum" at Assisi where their quarterly *Collectanea Francescana* is published.

The author is to be commended very highly for his literary achievement. Anyone in future, writing on the life and activities of this great Saint of the Church and glory of the Franciscan Order, could ill afford to neglect this work. The only other desideratum the reviewer noted was the lack of an initial list of abbreviations. It is only after a bit of resourceful thought and time-absorbing paging back and forth that one arrives at the conclusion that O.O. signifies "*Opera Omnia*" and O.C. "*Ordinis Capuccinorum*". For the sake of uniformity and clarity the abbreviation O.M. Cap. or O.F.M. Cap. would seem preferable. Despite these minor remarks, however, the author has merited well of the literary world for his patient and absorbing work in honor of his hero. To make the work more complete the author might have added a few lines concerning the liturgical cult given to the saint; the many churches dedicated to his honor; the other colleges of the Order, besides those at Rome and Assisi, placed under his protection; the Provinces of the Order which have selected him as their patron; *viz.*, the English, the Apulian and the Bohemo-Moravian. To the biographies might also have been added that by A. Brennan (London, 1911) and by A. Eisler (*Apostle, Diplomat and Feldherr*. Linz, 1927). Attention might also have been called to the article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. IX, 359-360) by the Canadian Father Candide, O.M. Cap.

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O.F.M. Conv.
The Catholic University of America.

Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland. By G. D. HENDERSON, D.D., D.Litt., Regius Professor of Church History, University of Aberdeen. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 311.)

"The true history of Scotland has not yet been written." So complains Evan Macleod Barron in the militant preface to the second edition of his *Scottish War of Independence* (1934). His book deals largely with the Highland contribution to that momentous struggle, but his treatment of the subject gains slow acceptance because, says he, "up to now that history has been written almost exclusively from a Lowland standpoint."

If secular "Histories of Scotland" are partial and incomplete, the case is worse where the ecclesiastical history of that country is concerned. Did not Major Malcolm V. Hay in 1927 discover a whole "chain of error" in it? One instinctively, therefore, approaches any work on Scottish church history with an eye for significant omissions. This present study of most of the important features of the religious life of Scotland in the seventeenth century by the Regius Professor of Church History at the University of Aberdeen is no exception. Within its limitations, it is excellent. It tells a fairly connected story in less than 300 pages, and is exceedingly well-documented. There are over 60 pages of notes and references which are models of their kind. The work is, therefore, carefully done; but it is emphatically not a complete study of the subject, nor in fact of all its "most important features." Like similar works, it tells a partial story and tells it well. The opening chapter is on the influence of the Bible on seventeenth-century Scotland, and is followed by a most interesting account of Bishop Patrick Forbes, who is revealed as a staunch Protestant who honestly believed Episcopacy was good for Scotland, although he emphatically did not believe in Apostolic succession! Other chapters of especial interest are: The Synod of Dort, Early Scottish Independents, Quietist Influences in Scotland, and The Covenanters. The author is at his best in treating of the long struggle between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, and his account of the Covenanters is a model of judicious balance where a thorny subject is concerned. Yet it would have been a gracious act on the part of the Regius Professor if he had rounded out his story by just one chapter on "Catholic Survival in Scotland in the Seventeenth Century." That survival was a very real and a very Scottish thing. Scottish, indeed, as "The Blairs Papers" (1929) bear witness on every page, was the contribution of those Jesuits who labored in Strathbogie during this very seventeenth century; for instance, he who wrote jubilantly to his exiled brethren on the Continent of his safe arrival in their beloved "land of caiks". Scottish, too, was Robert Munro, that Gaelic-speaking priest who died in prison of starvation in 1704 after over 30 years on the Highland mission. And why, in the excellent chapter on the Covenanters, is there no mention of the very Scottish Mr. John Walker, sometime prefect of the Scottish Catholics, whose "Little Touchstone of the Scottish Covenant" appeared in print in Paris in 1657? Each section of that work begins with a quotation from that momentous document in Scottish history, followed by a critical analysis which is truly remarkable for its acuteness, and even more so for a grace of language exceedingly rare in Scottish ecclesiastical controversy. Did not these Scots, and others of their faith, make a genuine contribution to the "Religious Life of Seventeenth Century Scotland"?

ALEXANDER H. SMITH.

University of Montreal.

Anglicanism in Transition. By HUMPHREY J. T. JOHNSON. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. 235. $2.25.)

Fr. Johnson's *Anglicanism in Transition* is a stimulating book in every regard. To Roman Catholic theologians it will doubtless open up many new approaches to an examination of Anglicanism. To Anglican theologians it will be the stimulus to considerable searching of soul, even when it is occasionally a source of irritation. The present reviewer cannot tell what the reaction may be among the clergy of the English Establishment; he knows that to many non-British Anglicans, such as the reviewer himself, it will seem to present a partial picture, and, therefore, a somewhat distorted one. If it is read by divines of Protestant and non-episcopal sects, it may well cause them to wonder whether there be any possibility of reunion with such a communion. The Anglo-Catholic will be pleased to see that Fr. Johnson recognizes much evidence of Catholic tradition, structure, and even terminology in Anglicanism. There is, for example, his recognition of the fact that "the abandonment of the attempt to coerce the Nonconformists into unwilling membership of the Established Church" saved that Church from a Protestant spirit and tradition (p. 27). There is the clear statement that the Church of England retained "much Catholic belief in her formularies and . . . a service-book showing so many traces of its Catholic heritage" (p. 16). There is the eminently fair summary of the enrichment along Catholic lines, both liturgical and doctrinal, contained in the Deposited Book, which had the approval of the clergy but was finally rejected by Parliament in 1928. And there is the assertion that this Book was favored by most of the laity that took interest in church questions (pp. 109-111).

There is much to be said in favor of Fr. Johnson's thesis that the idea of a National Church has militated against her being Catholic in spirit and tradition. Yet the Anglo-Catholic will say that this "national" idea has at times obscured rather than obliterated her Catholicism. It is true that the retention of Edward VI's first Prayer Book would have rendered the Church of England more obvously Catholic; it is doubtful, given the healing of the decades, that it would have rendered her less "national" than she is to-day (p. 4). One doubts that Bishop Gore, with all for which he stood, was defeated by the "national" idea, in view of the immeasurably strengthening clarity which he gave to his party (p. 93). One doubts that the Lambeth Conference of 1930 was deliberately evasive in the declaration: "We hold the Catholic faith in its entirety; that is to say, the truth of Christ contained in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds". In fact, most Anglicans, to the regret of some, have felt that the last Lambeth pronouncement identified Catholicism as the guiding spirit of the communion, rather than that of just a party therein. It is true, as Fr. Johnson observes, that the defeat of the Deposited Book by Parliament

seems to bear out the contention that the "national" idea of the Establishment is inimical to any genuine Catholic enrichment. Yet it may be suggested that this was but an instance of a sort of Erastian persecution, differing only in degree, perhaps, from that which caused an ecclesiastical court to condemn for heresy a great Saint of France in the fifteenth century. Certainly it does not vitiate all Anglicanism, for here again the author's view is clouded by a typically English provincialism. To cite another analogy, he would not condemn the whole Church of continental Europe because of the Erastianism in Spain which caused abuses of the Inquisition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It must be remembered that Anglicanism is a world-wide fellowship, the majority of whose members do not reside in England; and therefore the vagaries of elected politicians in one country cannot permanently throttle its expression, although they may stifle it for a time.

Fr. Johnson is quite accurate in his opinions on the effects of Methodism, and of the Evangelicalism to which it gave rise in the English Establishment. He is right in saying that Evangelicalism rescued the Church of England from the lethargy into which it had fallen as a result of eighteenth-century Latitudinarianism. He is probably correct in saying that Evangelicalism, for all its past potency, has now largely spent its force and has been weakened by the unholy alliance with Modernism, with which it has nothing in common "but a dislike of Catholic doctrine and Catholic rites" (p. 117). This is only a variation of the old story that hatred can form no basis of helpfulness or of lasting activity. The author's appraisal of the effects of the Oxford Movement, with its revival of Catholic consciousness in the Church of England, is fair and discriminating. One would perhaps expect this of a person who had been reared in an Anglo-Catholic household and in Anglo-Catholic parish life. But the present reviewer from an Anglican viewpoint doubts that Anglo-Catholicism has spent its force. It is simply not true that the Anglo-Catholic movement has degenerated into ritualism without belief. There may be some ritualistic clergy in the English Establishment who liturgically and aesthetically proclaim: "There is no God, and the Blessed Virgin Mary is His Mother"; but Fr. Johnson should see the growing Catholicism of Anglican clergy and laity throughout the world. It is more or less of an open secret among Anglo-Catholics, in America for example, that whereas they once fought for existence, they now fight for dominance. Gradually they are gaining it. The majority of converts to Anglicanism are of this persuasion, as are the majority of the growing parishes.

When Fr. Johnson discusses the effect of the Broad Church movement in Anglicanism, and that of contemporary Modernism, he is really searching the souls of sincere and orthodox Anglicans. They, too, feel the damaging implications of this movement, and its shattering potentialities. They, too, feel that the English Episcopate has temporized, has at times

been cowardly in its approach, has at times lain down in the midst of battle, has even become tainted by the accession of some Modernists to the first Order of ministry. There have, however, been other periods in history when heresy for a time crippled the Church, but did not destroy her. And again one must realize that this movement is quite limited, although articulate, in overseas Anglicanism, and that the majority of Anglican bishops, not being political appointees, are not at all afraid of the issue.

On the subject of a possible reunion of Christendom, Fr. Johnson says much of interest. It is unfortunate that he fails to record the full corporate intercommunion that has been established between the Old Catholics on the one hand, and the Church of England and certain other provinces of Anglicanism on the other. And one wishes that he had traced the so-called Lambeth Quadrilateral to its source, which was a Chicago meeting of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States. He justly assails a disciplinary weakness in Anglicanism by referring to the joint communion services held with various Protestant sects, as gestures of brotherly sentiment and of the aspiration toward unity. This is a live issue to-day, causing considerable mental anguish to both Anglo-Catholic and certain Evangelical churchmen. In regard to the bonds between Anglicanism and Eastern Orthodoxy Fr. Johnson seems to be not fully informed. These have gone beyond the mere recognition of Anglican orders by certain Orthodox patriarchs and autocephalous Churches. He neglects to mention the principle of οἰκονομία, the working arrangements whereby Anglicans and Eastern Orthodox may receive the sacraments and other ministrations from one another, as the accepted norm in communities where one or the other communion is not represented. He should know that the tendency of Anglican missionaries to proselytize among Eastern Orthodox belongs to yesterday and not to to-day. One note which he sounds will doubtless arrest the attention of all shades of opinion: that full intercommunion between Canterbury and Constantinople may ultimately give full validity, even in the judgment of the Vatican, to the orders of Anglican clergy. When Fr. Johnson discusses the various past attempts and possible future efforts at *rapprochement* between Rome and Canterbury, his whole view is naturally colored by the bull *Apostolicae Curae*, with its emphasis on the doctrine of intention. He again asks the ancient question: "Did the English Reformers intend to perpetuate a priesthood in the Catholic sense of the term"? (p. 149). The only sufficient Anglican reply is, and always must be, that the Preface to the Ordinal in the Prayer Book declares the intention of continuing the Apostolic orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. To Anglicans this will never seem like begging the question. To them it seems a much more inclusive answer than a mere "Yes" could ever be.

This review has run to great length, and there still are questions. How can the author think that Anglicanism survives only because many persons in England "are more eager that there should be a National Church than careful what that National Church professes" (p. 49), when the majority of Anglicans have never been in England? Is it not dragging in an issue to suggest that the sympathy of some Anglican clergy for the present Loyalist faction in Spain will bring further estrangement between Rome and Canterbury (p. 172)? Is it true that even a "National Church" must continue to minister to citizens who have no regard for her laws (p. 218)? Certainly the Church of England does not minister to the most righteous of Mohammedan citizens, or even to Christian Scientists or Mormons or Baptists. Is it true that the "deeply Catholic type of piety" has vanished from Anglicanism with the passing (one might better say enrichment) of old-fashioned High-Churchmanship (p. 222)? And certainly one must question the opinion that the recently published *Report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine* (a review of which he adds as an appendix) will create no storm. A single issue of the *Holy Cross Magazine*, published at West Park, New York, disproves this. It contains two contradictory reviews of the *Report* by two leaders of Anglo-Catholicism in the United States. But for all one's questions, for all one's disagreement with certain of Fr. Johnson's speculations, one must be grateful to him for the great work which he has done—great in its historicity, great in its insight and judgment, great in its appraisals, great in its stimulus to thought, great in its Christian forbearance and its Christ-like lack of all contentiousness.

HEWITT B. VINNEDGE.

Dean,
Christ Cathedral, Salina, Kansas.

Victoria's Guardian Angel. A Study of Baron Stockmar. By PIERRE CRABITÈS. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1938. Pp. x, 263. $3.00.)

It would indeed be difficult to account for the current run of books on Queen Victoria unless it be the centenary of her accession to the throne last year and the general interest aroused in the British royal family over the abdication crisis and the coronation of George VI. This book, written by Judge Crabitès, who at present is a lecturer in the School of Law of Louisiana State University, is about the German baron from Coburg who exercised such an important influence over the inner circles of the British court during the earlier years of Victoria's reign.

There can be little question that Baron Stockmar's influence with King Leopold of the Belgians, Prince Albert, and the queen was great. But the author at times allows his admiration for the quiet and persistent baron to run away with him, as for example attributing Edward VII's dislike of German militarism to an early dislike which the king took as a child to

the German baron (p. 162 ff.). Then again the removal of the Baroness Lehzen from Victoria's person was very much to be desired by all, and while Judge Crabitès is at pains to show that Lord Melbourne and the Prince Consort failed to accomplish that end in his chapter, "The Passing of Lehzen", he certainly does not establish any proof that Stockmar turned the trick. It is insinuated, but in no sense proved. Moreover, the author pursues the uncle of the queen, Leopold of Belgium, with a bias that is almost amusing (pp. 67, 69-70, 93, etc.). No one questions that Leopold would have liked to have had his finger in the British pie, but to charge him with trying to direct the foreign policy of Great Britain is a little strong. Lord Melbourne does not meet with much gentler handling, for here too the author plays up Melbourne's errors (pp. 86, 102, etc.) in a way that gives the reader the uncomfortable feeling that it is done to allow the baron to show off to greater advantage.

Judge Crabitès has annotated his volume with citations to the queen's *Letters* and Baron Stockmar's *Denkwürdigkeiten*. Those two works, together with Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, are his chief sources. The reviewer noted several slips. At the top of p. 44 one should read "assumed" for "asumed"; at the bottom of p. 99 "artlessly" should drop out of the sentence; and at the top of p. 136 read "Prince" for "Pince". The volume has no bibliography but a full index and a reproduction of Winterhalter's portrait of the baron as a frontispiece. Altogether the book makes interesting reading and the political sagacity, diplomacy and keen judgment and discernment of men and issues which Baron Stockmar possessed are well delineated. It is, however, in no sense a definitive study of the baron's public career, but perhaps Judge Crabitès would be the first to admit that it was not so intended.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS.

The Catholic University of America.

The Foundation of Australia (1786–1800). By ERIS O'BRIEN. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. xiii, 432. $5.00.)

The author treats "the criminal procedure and the crimes of the people rather than the penal laws" of the Transportation System, which occasioned the foundation of Australia. He shows that "especially in Ireland crime was frequently mere rebellion against oppression." He lays stress upon "the vast gulf separating the common people in England and Ireland from the aristocracy that ruled them", and shows that while the crimes of the poor were overemphasized, the government always favored the rich employers, fostering rugged individualism and *laissez-faire*. This industrial system demanded that even children of the age of seven work at home, in the shops, or even in dark mines, 12 to 15 hours a day.

"The only rational solution of compelling industry to pay a reasonable wage as means of reducing the enormous cost of relief to the poor was always avoided", while an act of 1792 stipulated that all vagrants should be "publicly whipt". Nothing was done, however, to alter the lot of the "poor miserable wretches whose indigence have (*sic*) rendered relief necessary". The treatment of the poor, according to Dr. Ullathorne, was such that many deliberately became criminals, preferring the lot of convicts in the horrid prisons of England, or transportation to Australia, to that of the poor. "The true founders of the Australian settlement", according to the author, "were immigrants or offspring of transported convicts; and they were responsible for its industry and population." Students of economic and industrial questions will find in this work an instructive background for their field. While the author gives historical proof that rugged individualism is a chief source of industrial and financial distress among the multitudes, he offers penologists, besides evidence of the tragic failure of the transportation system, also another proof that need and poverty are a prolific fountain of criminality. Finally, the author adds sixty pages of valuable historical appendices, notes and indices.

LEO KALMER, O.F.M.

Holy Cross Hospital,
Merrill, Wis.

A History of Ireland. By EDMUND CURTIS, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of Modern History in the University of Dublin. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1937. Pp. xii, 392. $4.00.)

It is not an easy thing to write the history of any country satisfactorily within the compass of a volume of less than four hundred pages, particularly when that country is Ireland which has had such a long and full record. Professor Curtis has, on the whole, done his work very well. The scope of the volume runs from the days when the neolithic men inhabited the island up to the ratification of the treaty with Great Britain by the Irish Dail on January 7th, 1922. No attempt has been made to write the history of the last sixteen years in Ireland.

The spirit of the book is fair and objective. The author has kept a fine balance while handling many delicate questions concerning the religious differences in Ireland and, too, the political quarrels with Great Britain. It is evident throughout that Professor Curtis writes as an Irishman, not an Englishman. He does not hesitate to condemn British policy in Ireland as often stupid and cruel. Moreover, he seems to entertain a strong desire for the revival of the Gaelic tongue in Ireland (pp. 372, 382), and is at pains to state his keen regret that the old tongue has so largely disappeared.

One of the best chapters in the work is that on the "Rise and Fall of the Protestant Nation, 1782-1800", in which the author traces the causes

and preliminaries to the Act of Union in the latter year. Professor Curtis gives ample evidence of acquaintance with the primary sources for the history of Ireland by numerous quotations from the medieval annals, etc., which he has woven into the narrative. There are, however, no citations of these sources by footnote references. The principal criticism to be made against the book, it seems to the reviewer, is the poor apportionment of material. For example, the period from the famine in 1847 to the treaty in 1922, is done in 35 pages, and from the fall of Parnell to the treaty of 1922 in only 9 pages. Would not the interesting and important question of a Catholic university for Ireland in the mid-19th century merit more than the short paragraph given to it on p. 374? There is danger that Professor Curtis' statement that England secured a constitution in 1689 "in which a Prime Minister took the King's place in the Cabinet and the ministry was responsible to the majority in Parliament" (pp. 294-295), may be misinterpreted. The day was still far distant in 1689 when a "Prime" minister would clearly emerge or a sovereign would feel bound to name ministers to a cabinet that would be responsible to Parliament. Finally there is a brief bibliography, which is classified in a general way, and an excellent index. Five maps accompany the volume showing Ireland in 1014, 1216, 1330, 1500 and today. The reviewer noted only one typographical slip: at the bottom of p. 53 there is a duplication of the word "was".

JOHN TRACY ELLIS.

The Catholic University of America.

Insurrection versus Resurrection. By MASIE WARD. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. xi, 558.)

This was to have been the second volume of Masie Ward's biography of her parents, Wilfrid and Josephine Ward. The author prefers to call it a second book since its scope is wider than *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition*, published in 1934. To make this second book as complete as possible there is a certain amount of overlapping. As originally planned the two volumes were to deal with the two centuries, but dates are stubborn things and cannot be forced into our conveniences. As the title suggests, somewhat obscurely, we may expect to find that the central theme of the book is the rise and fall of Modernism. This places it in the category of history rather than biography; although, for those who speak the English language, Wilfrid Ward was undoubtedly the lay champion of intelligent orthodoxy in that bitter contest. There were reasons for this. The Ward family in all its ramifications is deeply rooted not only in the traditional Catholic life of England, but, what is still more important, in the exsurgent Oxford Movement. This alone might have meant nothing, and has meant nothing for other families, but in the case of the Wards it led to contacts with everyone in England who belonged to the world

of creative thought. It was this network of vital interests that has made the second book a difficult task. Masie Ward with uncanny perspicuity has fitted the varied activities of her parents' lives into a convincing picture. Omitting the names of members of their family and of those who were necessarily part of the Wilfrid Wards' history, we find an astonishing list of notables who were their close friends. The book contains personal portrayals of many of these. To mention some may be an added attraction to the book buyer: for example, Huxley and Tennyson; Cardinal Gasquet, Bishops Bidwell, Hedley and O'Dwyer; Bishop Gore and Lord Halifax; Baufour, Hugh Cecil, James Bryce and George Wyndham; Chesterton, Belloc and Mallock; Benson, Britten, Maturin and Ryder; Lords Ashbourne and St. Cyres; Henry Harland. This is only a sample. The most valuable portraits are those of Von Hügel and George Tyrell which supply a solution of the mystery that explains their separate and their related positions. Beyond this close contact with the world of letters and thought there was a coincidence that brought Wilfrid Ward into the line of fire. He happened at the time of the *Pascendi* encyclical to be the editor of the *Dublin Review*, and as such he had to declare himself in print. The Modernists, mostly outside England, hastened to shield themselves behind Newman — and, at that very time, Wilfrid Ward was engaged in the Newman biography. He knew Newman as none of the Modernists could possibly do. It was around this great name that the contest raged. Modernism seems a long way off now. It is difficult to understand the anxieties of the days in which it was met, and, as far as the Church is concerned, destroyed. From the victory emerged Catholic Action, the coöperation of the laity in the work of spreading the Faith. Wilfrid Ward may well be acclaimed as the foremost in time and importance of the present galaxy of Catholic lay coöperators. The state of siege is over, and the fact that the daughter of Wilfrid Ward could write a book that is so candid is a proof that this is so. One says "daughter" with emphasis, for it is interesting to note that apart from the mention of some novelists, of which Josephine Ward naturally takes the first place, no single Catholic woman is mentioned in the book, except the pathetic Maude Petre who is still flogging the ghost of a forgotten past. Although the book is mainly historical, the biography continues. The Ward family has its own happy life, which in the case of its principal characters is closed with holy deaths. The reviewer has conscientiously read the book several times; but he has also gone back to it again and again for the sake of pure delight. It has the ring of a marching song. It is like the approaching pæan of a new Merry England. The book has already taken its place beside the other great biographies of English Catholics.

EDWARD HAWKS.

St. Joan of Arc Rectory,
Philadelphia, Penna.

Rome and the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820–1821. A Study in Papal Neutrality. By JOSEPH H. BRADY, Ph.D., S.T.D., Professor of History in Seton Hall College. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. 196. $2.50.)

This monograph, which is one of the Studies in History, Economics and Public Law edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, is an interesting one from a number of angles. First, it is the kind of study that will reflect credit on Catholic historical scholarship for its balanced and judicious interpretation and its almost exclusive reliance on manuscript sources. Secondly, Professor Brady has given us, if we still needed such, additional evidence of the benefit which will accrue to Catholic history in general by resource to the immense riches of the Vatican Archives. Finally, this investigation, dealing as it does with a brief chapter in the diplomacy of the Papal State shortly after its restoration following the Congress of Vienna, indicates clearly to the reader the bewildering complexity of the problems which Pius VII and his secretary of state, Cardinal Consalvi, had to face in administering the temporal monarchy.

The Neapolitan revolution of 1820 was but a passing incident in a period of general European unrest. However, to the papal government, sandwiched in between the Kingdom of Naples and the Austrian possessions in northern Italy, it was a matter of prime importance. Father Brady has related the struggle for papal neutrality *vis-à-vis* Naples and Austria very well. Cardinal Consalvi is naturally the hero of the story since as secretary of state responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs was in his hands. Consalvi's handling of the delicate problems was skillful. The Cardinal's horror of the spread of constitutional government from the camp of the Neapolitan liberals had as its base the fear that such changes in the temporal government of the Papal States would jeopardize the government of the Catholic Church in the spiritual sphere. When it came to that the Cardinal had no doubt, for he wrote in September, 1820: "The fundamental principle of constitutional government, if applied to the government of the Church, becomes a principle of heresy" (p. 15). While exerting the most energetic efforts to keep the Papal State at peace with its two warring neighbors, Cardinal Consalvi felt compelled to employ methods which though probably justifiable under the circumstances—keeping ever in mind that he was the foreign minister of a temporal state of considerable size—were nonetheless a bit incongruous in a churchman. It is gratifying to realize that such procedure as censorship of the press (p. 18), interception of visitors' mail (p. 54), and employment of spies (p. 74) is no longer among the regular political exigencies of a papal secretary of state.

The author has included in his volume a full bibliography, which is well classified, an adequate index and a map of the Papal State and adjoining

countries in 1820. The reviewer noted only two slips in printing: "it" for "if", in the middle of p. 148, and "proceedure" for "procedure", in the twelfth line on p. 163. It is altogether a fine piece of work and Professor Brady is to be congratulated for his careful scholarship.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS.

The Catholic University of America.

Peregrinus Apostolicus: lo spirito pubblico e il viaggio di Pio VI a Vienna. By GIUSEPPE SORANZO. (Milano: Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Serie Quinta: Scienze Storiche, vol. XIV. 1937. Pp. ix, 659.)

Soranzo has gone to work with a clear, honest notion of the task of the historian, and of the meaning of the event he has chosen to treat. The task of the historian is "to grasp, to evaluate the multiple voices, signs, exigencies, of the force of facts and events, to investigate and to show how the men of action have listened and reacted to them, and to determine how much, in the men of action, is due to their personal will and initiative, how much to the influence of the complex *spirito pubblico*" (Preface, p. ix). I leave the expression *spirito pubblico* untranslated because the English "public spirit" has entirely different connotations.

Soranzo's book falls logically into three divisions: (1) The two protagonists; (2) the Pope's voyage, Rome-Vienna, Vienna-Rome, with the account of his stay at the Hofburg sandwiched in between; (3) epilogue and retrospective glance. The whole is articulated in four chapters preceded by a preface, an introduction, and followed by a conclusion. Four appendices and a bibliography complete the work. In order of interest, I would give pre-eminence to the first chapter ("The beginnings of the ecclesiastical policy of Joseph II"); then, scaling down, I would mention the epilogue, the fourth and the second chapters.

As for Pius VI's trip to Vienna, it represents not only an episode but an epilogue and a new point of departure in the history of the Church, or rather in the history of its relations with the European states. Soranzo, while underscoring that the relations between Pius VI and Joseph II must be studied in constant reference to the whole development of the relations between Church and State, appraises the *novum quid* that comes to the fore in the contrast between Pontiff and Austrian Emperor. The disquieting factor in Joseph's ecclesiastical policy was not in its principles: "it was in their decided, vigorous, cold-blooded resoluteness, in their being a part of vaster plans of general reform" (p. 501).

The faults in the construction of this otherwise remarkable book depend on the plural aspect and the excessive ductility of the basic concept adopted by the author, namely, that of *spirito pubblico*. It is conceived by Soranzo in a double form: (a) as a determinant; (b) as a result.

This distinction is neither theoretically established in Soranzo's mind, nor operative in him *qua* narrator. The confusion is particularly evident when he states that the *spirito pubblico* is "that multiform whole of historical traditions, aspirations, needs, which gradually in time and space constitute the characteristic psychology, the prevalent tendencies of a nation or of nations" (Preface, p. vii). The historical traditions, aspirations, needs, do not constitute but determine the characteristic psychology of a nation or nations. The *spirito pubblico* appears to Soranzo under a variety of incarnations—as the *Zeitgeist*, as a particular hypostasis of the *Zeitgeist*, as *vox populi*, as articulated public opinion in the form of publicistic radicalism, and as a type of historiographic technique.

The reader may ask: At the end of the 18th century, who was the carrier of the *spirito pubblico?* "The multitudes of Viennese and non-Viennese subjects, the whole of the Catholic world, curious, anxious, whose silent voices penetrated into the Hofburg . . . the soul of Catholic populations which demanded caution, asked that conflict and schism be avoided, that a conciliation be attained;" (p. 307) or "the *novatori* who manifested, although in an exorbitant and revolutionary manner, the consciousness of the ampler problem of the modern conception of the state, of new social values, of the orientation of international politics, the consciousness of the complexity of the reforming activity of the princes and the necessity of bringing the institutions of the Church into harmony with the new conditions and the renewed mentality?" (pp. 505-06). Soranzo does not specify; there is a cleavage between his loyalty and his sympathies.

As far as the sources are concerned, the main attention was given to the correspondence between the Nuncio at Vienna, Monsignor Garampi, his *uditore*, Monsignor Caleppi, and the Secretary of State, Cardinal Pallavicini. The correspondence is contained in the files of the Nunziatura di Germania and it is one of the most important elements of Soranzo's historical reconstruction. Soranzo has not done any original research into the Austrian Archives, as he felt that his predecessors (Brunner, Schlitter, Gendry, Pastor) have explored them thoroughly and reliably. This lacuna is made up for by his exploitation of the hitherto unexplored and unpublished documentary material of the State Archives of Venice, a treasure trove of information. He has also profited by consulting the Fondo Culto of the State Archives of Milan. He utilizes, furthermore, the personal diary of Joseph II, his letters to his brother, Leopold of Tuscany, the important *incarto* in the series of the *Carte Boni* in the Comunale library of Reggio Emilia, as well as the gazettes and papers of the last part of the eighteenth century.

The following bibliographical items are conspicuous for their absence: Rösch, "Katholisches Kirchenrecht im Zeitalter der Aufklärung," in *Archiv f. kath. Kirchenrecht*, 1904 ff.; the article by Voltelini in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1910, on jusnaturalism and josephine reforms; Curt Wunder-

lich, *Der Pontifikat Pius VI in Beurteilung der deutschen Mitwelt*, Diss. Leipzig 1913; Ad. Menzel, "Kaiser Joseph II und das Naturrecht," *Zeitschrift f. oeffentliches Recht*, I, 1919-20, pp. 511-28; Mary H. Allies, *Pius VI*, London 1897; P. Ph. Wolf, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche an der Wende des 18 Jahrhunderts*, 1908.

ELIO GIANTURCO.

Berkeley, Calif.

Der Aussätzige, Pater Damian De Veuster auf Hawai. By ROLF FECHTER. (St. Louis: Herder. 1937. Pp. 168. $1.15.)

This attractively bound and modestly priced book is one of a series of hagiographical works edited under the able direction of Father Karlheinz Riedel, S.J. The purpose of the series is to acquaint the youth of Germany with the spiritual giants of modern times; and, to judge from the example before us, well qualified authors have been chosen for the task. In a clear and sober style Father Fechter shows us the heroism of that great model of Christian charity, Father Damien, the apostle of the lepers of Molokai who was quite astonished to find that the whole world was admiring him as a hero, and whose humble remains were recently transported across two oceans amidst the highest of honors, civil as well as ecclesiastical. This life of Father Damien is short, but amazingly complete. And unlike so many others, it is rigorously historical, due to the fact that the author has used the very best of sources, in particular, the works of Père Vital Jourdan and of Pater Konrad van Kessel, both members of the Congregation which sees in Father Damien one of its most exemplary sons. The German is very simple, and should interest those students of the language who are not afraid of the Gothic characters.

BENEDICT F. HORRELL, C.SS.CC.

Brookland, D. C.

Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773. Vol. III. Edited with Introduction and Annotations by CHARLES WILSON HACKETT, Ph.D., Professor of Latin American History in the University of Texas. (Washington, D. C.: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1937. Pp. xii, 532.)

This is the third and final volume containing in English translation the papers which Adolf F. A. Bandelier and Fannie R. Bandelier gathered twenty-five years ago under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, chiefly in the Archives of Seville. It should be noted that more recent researches have made it possible for Dr. Hackett to bring in their entirety several important documents that the Bandeliers had transcribed only in part. For this all students of New Mexican history owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Hackett, not to speak of the excellent translation

of the documents, the copious annotations, the scholarly Introduction, and the eminently serviceable Index. The present volume differs from the two preceding in that it brings only the English translation, omitting the original Spanish text. Though there will be those who regret this departure from the plan as first conceived, the reputation of Dr. Hackett in the field of Latin American History should be ample guarantee for completeness, accuracy, and correctness. The documents contained in this volume are grouped under the following eight heads: (1) Documents relating to New Mexico, 1620-1639 (pp. 47-74); (2) *Expediente* relating to the provinces of Sinaloa and New Mexico, 1634-1641: Extracts (pp. 75-93); (3) *Autos* which came with letters from the viceroy, dated February 28, 1639, concerning whether the division of bishoprics in New Mexico and *doctrinas* in Sinaloa would be advisable (pp. 94-127); (4) Extracts from papers of the Inquisition relative to the affairs of the province of New Mexico, 1629-1671 (pp. 128-284); (5) *Expediente* concerning the conquest of New Mexico: Secular 1677-1679 [1680] (pp. 285-326); (6) Miscellaneous general documents relating to Indian uprisings in New Mexico, 1680-1698 (pp. 327-353); (7) Documents relating to the activities of Juan Dominguez de Mendoza and Fray Nicolás López to 1686 (pp. 354-365); and (8) Documents relating primarily to the missions and Indians of New Mexico in the eighteenth century (pp. 366-509).

Every student of New Mexican history, after glancing at these eight groups of documents, will realize that there is abundant new material in this collection, shedding light especially on what was long the obscure period: the fifty-odd years preceding the great revolt of 1680. Many of the documents reveal a state of affairs that saddens the heart of the reader as it must have saddened the heart of many a friar toiling outside the circle of controversy and turmoil and trying his best against tremendous odds for the spiritual and material welfare of his Indian charges. It is this one must keep in mind—the heroic work of the majority in the distant mission centers—when reading about the quarrels over jurisdiction between the civil heads and the religious superiors at Santa Fé and in Mexico City. While these quarrels, inevitable perhaps and certainly disedifying, threatened the permanency of Spanish rule in New Mexico and were without doubt a contributing cause of the great revolt of 1680, the friars as a class, living and suffering with their Christian Indians in the outlying missions, worked zealously and faithfully to achieve their high purpose and to ward off the outbreak that they must have felt would sooner or later destroy the edifices of salvation they were even then erecting for the welfare of the natives. If loyalty to a noble cause in the face of discouragement and opposition spells heroism, then these friars were truly heroes. The wonder is not that, despite distressing obstacles, they succeeded so well in their work but that they succeeded at all. That in 1679, the year before the 1680 uprising, the great pueblo country num-

bered 17,000 Christian Indians in forty-six pueblos or towns is a fact that for obvious reasons should not be left unnoticed.

An outstanding feature of the present volume is the *Introduction* (pp. 3-43) by Dr. Hackett. It is based, of course, on the documents which he translates and edits, and extends from 1609 to 1773. The first part treats the "Church-State Relations in New Mexico, 1609-1659" and concludes with a brief account of "The rôle of the Inquisition in the Church-State conflict in New Mexico, 1659-1664." In the second part, under the title "The Last Three Decades of the Seventeenth Century," Dr. Hackett deals briefly with the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and with the Dominguez-López expedition into what is to-day Texas, undertaken from El Paso three years after the Revolt. In the third and last part, entitled "New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century," the reconquest after the Revolt is related, depicting the more peaceful relations that existed between the civil and spiritual authorities and the work that the friars undertook and achieved in the mission field.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O.F.M.

The Catholic University of America.

The Western Lands and the American Revolution. By THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY. (New York: D. Appleton–Century Company. 1937. Pp. xv, 413.)

No one can read this book without being impressed by the painstaking research work of the author. It is so strictly the record of the findings of a research student that not many will be inclined to read the whole book. Even he who turns to it for information about special questions that may interest him will probably find Mr. Abernethy's style tantalizing. The author leaves too much for the reader to do, especially in the question of identifying names, which bristle in every chapter. One who turns to this book in the hope of obtaining a general picture of the West up to the time of the adoption of the Constitution (this is the period treated in the book) will be disappointed. To be fair to the author, however, one should not expect a general picture because he says in the preface that he intends only to dwell on those phases of the events "which had some demonstrable political effect" upon the country. But as chapter follows chapter, one finds himself turning back to the preface again and again to see how the inclusion or exclusion of certain topics in the text are justified by this statement of purpose. Finally, when the book is finished the reader's conviction will probably be that the author was not quite sure what he intended to do when he wrote that preface; or that, when he had collected his material, he found it too extensive to be treated adequately in the space allowed.

When one considers the question of what is included in the work, a number of things are mentioned which one could hardly say had a demonstrable effect on the politics of the time. This is evident from the fact that the author frequently qualifies his conclusions by clauses which limit their effect to mere possibilities. A few examples of this may be found on pages 115, 200, 245, 263, 303, 306, and it occurs elsewhere.

On the other hand, it is surprising to find how completely the position of the French in the West is excluded from this book. Of the land speculation in the vicinity of Cahokia, Kaskakia, Prairie des Rochers and Vincennes, which involved politics and politicians, nothing is said. The opportunity for dwelling on this important feature of the Western Lands question is offered on many occasions (*e.g.* pp. 119, 202, 248, 309 and 316). On page 316 Mr. Abernethy actually mentions the fact that the French in the West were petitioning Congress, but he does not develop the reason for the petition.

Due to these imperfections the book is not definitive, but it will be helpful both by affording a foundation for further studies along similar lines and because it collects a vast quantity of information dealing with the West.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON, S.J.

Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisc.

The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810–1822. By CHARLES CARROLL GRIFFIN. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. 315. $3.75.)

To gather into a single compact volume the data bearing on the Spanish relations of the United States from 1810 to 1822 is something of an achievement and one which will be appreciated by the student, whether his interest is wholly or only partly academic. Dr. Griffin, in addition to bringing to light material hitherto known to but a few, has presented that material in its proper setting and correct perspective, with numerous references and an excellent bibliography.

The reader will not fail to be impressed by the timeliness of the lessons to be derived from this volume. The problem of neutrality confronting us today does not differ substantially from that problem as it presented itself to Madison and Adams and Monroe. How can neutrality be enforced without our taking, or seeming to take, sides? May we be neutral in the event of civil war or a revolt such as that of Spanish America against Spain? How are the agents of revolting colonies to be treated? And when they are not in harmony with one another, what is to be done? Probably some at least of the glib offhand talk we hear these days about "minding our own business" would be silenced if the history of United States diplomacy were better known, for some people might be brought to realize that the problem is not so simple as they imagine it is.

And then there is the difficulty of obtaining accurate unprejudiced information regarding both sides during a war. On this point the following passage can be applied to our situation today in the matter of Spain: "The barbarities committed by both sides . . . were frightful enough, but reports emanating from rebel headquarters were frequently published relating to Spanish atrocities while savagery on the part of the patriots usually went unchronicled" (p. 161). And the bandying about of "absolutism", "tyranny", "democracy" and similar terms, with the inevitable consequence of clouding the issue and misleading the unwary, can be readily understood today, as well as the undercurrent, now and then rising to the surface, of anti-Catholic feeling, which was as strong then as it is now, though less clever. That the negotiations which finally issued in the cession to the United States of Florida, one of the most tedious passages in our history, were related to the Spanish-American independence movements is here brought out clearly, a fact which contributes considerably to the value of the book.

EDWIN RYAN.

St. Mary's Seminary,
Roland Park, Baltimore.

The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America. By LOUISE CALLAN, M.A., Ph.D., Religious of the Sacred Heart. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1937. Pp. xvii, 809. $5.00.)

This book is a valuable addition to the slowly accumulating works on the history of our religious orders of women and their educational work in the United States. Such a history is not a mere record of foundations with statistics of progress but rather a human story which reaches beyond the cloister walls. This, Mother Callan realizes full well and so she gives picturesque descriptions of places and events mingled with interesting glimpses of persons, many of them prominent in the history of the American Church. A high type of scholarship combined with a charming vividness of style makes the work attractive to the general reader as well as to the historian. Throughout its pages one is conscious of the spiritual force which brought the Society into being and still motivates its every activity, namely, "devotion to the Sacred Heart and the propagation of Its interests". To counteract the spiritual devastation wrought by the French Revolution, Saint Madeleine Sophie Barat, in 1800, founded the Society of the Sacred Heart. In less than two decades it had spread from France to St. Charles, Missouri. Here in September, 1818, there began for the saintly foundress and her four companions a life of almost incredible heroism. Thrown into the rude life of the frontier, these cultured women with unflinching courage put their hands to the roughest toil. Food was scarce, fuel insufficient, and beds a luxury. Yet in spite of cold

and hunger, ingratitude and opposition, misunderstanding and calumny, the indomitable foundress carried forward her work with steadfast perseverance and unfaltering trust in God. On such a foundation was the Society of the Sacred Heart built in North America.

To those who associate the educational work of the Religious of the Sacred Heart with exclusive academies and colleges, it may come as a surprise to read that, in almost every instance, along with the academy for the upper classes the Society provided at its own expense a free school for the poor or an orphanage where children were cared for at the cost of great deprivations on the part of the nuns. To these Religious belongs the credit of establishing the first free school for girls west of the Mississippi, and also the first "Female Indian School." A colored school, flourishing for many years at Grand Coteau, Louisiana, and educating as many as two hundred girls at a time, has proved a potent factor in the Negro apostolate. However, owing to the rapid growth of our parochial school system, many of these free schools were no longer needed and as a result the statistics for 1900 and 1935 show an interesting contrast. At the dawn of the century 4,037 were enrolled in free or parish schools in the United States and Canada as against 2,547 in private institutions of the Society. In less than thirty-five years the tables were reversed—the enrollment in the free schools dropping to 1,344 while that in academies and colleges mounted to 4,233. The concluding chapter will prove of special interest to the student of education. It discusses the aims and ideals of the Society and traces the development of its methods and curricula. An appendix furnishes a chronology of foundations and events, a list of pioneer missionaries, and an illuminating statistical table. There is a good bibliography and a complete index.

SISTER MARY CHRISTINA, S.U.S.C.

Sacred Heart School of Education,
Fall River, Massachusetts.

Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B. und König Ludwig I. von Bayern. Ihre Briefe als Beitrag zur Geschichte der katholischen Kirche und des Deutschtums in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas. Von P. WILLIBALD MATHÄSER, O.S.B. (Munich. 1938. Pp. 200. Mk. 3.)

Thirty-seven letters of Abbot Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., addressed to King Louis I of Bavaria, together with nineteen short responses of the king, covering the years 1849 to 1867, are contained in this book of two hundred pages. Father Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B., the indefatigable research worker in Benedictine history in the United States, prefaces the letters with a brief introduction giving the foundation of the correspondence and accompanies the letters with copious historical notes. Monsignor

J. Neuhäusler, President of the Ludwig-Missionsverein, introduces the book as a memorial to the labors of Abbot Wimmer on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his death and as a centenary memorial of the Ludwig-Missionsverein. These letters are most valuable for the early history of the Benedictines in our country. They report an important contribution to the history of the German Catholics in the United States and as such must be known by the historian of the American Church. In those early days of stress, when priests were sought in Europe to minister to the needs of the German Catholic immigrants, lest they be lost to the Faith, Father Boniface conceived the idea of founding a Benedictine abbey in this country, which should serve as a rallying point for the immigrants of German origin, should contain a seminary to prepare a native clergy who would understand the needs of Americans better than the German priests, and should provide the means to make this work self-sustaining through the assistance of brothers by their labors in the extended fields of the abbey. Financial help was needed for the beginning. To obtain this, Abbot Wimmer kept in constant touch with King Louis and his Ludwig-Missionsverein. Through this help, a solid foundation was laid at St. Vincent's Abbey, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, and new abbeys were founded in the West and the South. The letters describe the various vicissitudes of this foundation and expansion. They are not only valuable but also most interesting to students of that period. Father Willibald is to be congratulated on his success in having these letters published despite the many obstacles he had to surmount. He deserves the gratitude of our historians for bringing this valuable source material to their notice. Possibly these letters may induce some Benedictine scholar to give us a much needed life of the great Abbot Boniface Wimmer in English.

THEODORE ROEMER, O.M.CAP.

St. Lawrence College,
Mount Calvary, Wisconsin.

Father Francis Mary of the Cross Jordan, Founder and First Superior General of the Society of the Divine Savior. By P. PANCRATIUS PFEIFFER, Second Superior General of the Same Society. Translated from the Original by WINFRID HERBST, S.D.S. (St. Nazianz, Wisconsin: Society of the Divine Savior. 1936. Pp. 574.)

The author gives us an interesting biography based on original documents in the archives of the Society and on an intimate personal acquaintance of twenty-six years. He is to be commended for his frankness in pointing out the defects and mistakes of his founder. Nevertheless Father Jordan is justly revealed as a man of unwavering faith, consuming zeal and intense loyalty to the Holy See. He founded the Salvatorian Fathers in Rome, 1881, and the Salvatorian Sisters in Tivoli, 1888. The general

aim of the former is to help win the world for Christ by the apostolate of the pulpit and of the press. Their achievements in the latter regard are highly praiseworthy. The Sisters engage in educational and charitable works. The author traces the development of the Fathers up to the founder's death in 1918; and of the Sisters up to 1930. In this country the former have foundations in three archdioceses and three dioceses; the latter, in two archdioceses and five dioceses. The volume is adorned with many fine illustrations, but lacks an index. It contains some Germanisms and a number of typographical errors. However, its merits outweigh its demerits and we welcome its appearance.

JOHN F. BYRNE, C.SS.R.

Esopus, N. Y.

American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century. By SISTER MARY AUGUSTINA (RAY), B.V.M., Ph.D. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. 456.)

It is greatly to be regretted that we have been so long delayed in presenting this monograph to our readers. Few dissertations in the field of American Catholic history have received higher praise than Sister Augustina's study of colonial No Popery. Directed by Dr. Evarts B. Greene of Columbia University, her major professor, the authoress has succeeded in presenting in all its detailed aspects the American anti-Catholic tradition as it was historically formed in England up to the "Glorious Revolution" in 1688, and then shows how it was solidly and compactly transmitted to colonial American life, thought and letters. As a whole, it is not an attractive story; but as the evolution of the No Popery spirit unfolds in these pages, there emerges something akin to a better understanding of the colonial Protestant mind. There is a childish pathetic side to it all; and yet how that same mind could have escaped the blighting effects of an anti-papal complex after a century and more of such campaigning as that carried on by Barnes, the "foul mouthed" Bale, Foxe the crook and Knox the fanatic, it would be impossible to state. What their writings failed to do, the itinerant tutor and preacher in the colonies completed. "Small wonder," Sister Augustina writes, "that with such tutoring English emigrants should have brought with them to the New World the conviction that the Pope was Antichrist; that his followers, cleric and lay, were the source of competition to the godly, of treason to the state; that finally, the preservation of personal liberty as well as of the free institutions which are its guardians demanded that the adherents of the Church of Rome be excluded from the body politic. Nor is it surprising that with such convictions, the forebears of the Revolutionary generation should deem it their sacred duty to imbue their children's children with a deadly hatred of the old faith. Only thus, they reasoned, could they preserve

intact the faith 'delivered to the saints'" (p. 34). This process of transmission and of inculcation is treated in the first two chapters. There follow then in logical order careful delineations of the spread of this anti-papal tradition in the sermons of the colonial clergy, in colonial education, in the text books used in the schools, in the literature of the times, in action, and in the civil and political weapons fashioned by the different colonies to suppress Catholicism, by force, if necessary. The monograph is then rounded out with chapters on the pre-Revolutionary decade, during the Revolution itself, and during the period of constitution making for the thirteen original states.

This is the monograph many students who could look only to Sanford Cobb's *Rise of Religious Liberty* (New York, 1902) for guidance, have long been seeking to give them some logical basis for an understanding of what John Gilmary Shea once called the "decennial madness" of anti-Catholic outbreaks during the nineteenth century. It is a thorny, disquieting subject, but we have it treated here calmly and with a irenic temper which raises Sister Augustina's monograph far above the controversial frame.

It is consoling to all Americans who are striving to create a better understanding between the Churches to read the following conclusion from the pen of the writer: "In spite of its waves of anti-Catholic fanaticism, the nineteenth century made notable progress toward the desired goal. Today, however unsympathetic the average citizen may be toward the tendencies of a particular creed, he is likely to condemn as un-American the exploitation of racial and religious antipathies. . . Meanwhile it is encouraging to note the efforts of a small but influential group for the better understanding of those problems and for that inter-denominational action which should do much to foster cordial relationships" (p. 396). To this noble purpose Sister Augustina has contributed a work which will clarify the hazy colonial past and help us to see the problem of tolerance in our own day in a better light.

PETER GUILDAY.

The Catholic University of America.

Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century. By JOHN MARTIN CREED, D.D. and JOHN SANDWITH BOYS SMITH, M.A. (Cambridge, University Press. 1934. Pp. xl, 316. $3.75.)

To some of us, at least, there is a certain pathos in a book like this. Reviewing the speculations of a group of eminent, sincere and, in some cases, genuinely pious thinkers, we feel how wasteful were their earnest efforts to find substitutes for what they regarded as the irrational and hampering theology and philosophy of the Church. But their speculations cannot be ignored, especially now, when the history of ideas is more essential than ever to an understanding of our world. The intellectual move-

ments portrayed in this book, by exposition and copious quotation, were fundamental to that divorce of economics and politics from Christian theology and philosophy which seems to many of us a primary source of the world's present ills. For they were the fruit of "The Age of Reason", both at its apogee and at the stage when its sterility was first beginning to be felt. Relying in various degrees upon the developments of thought connected with the Renaissance, the Protestant Revolt, Cartesianism and Newtonian physics, the rationalist leaders attacked from various angles, and sought various objectives. Indeed, they agreed in little, save in striking at revelation as accepted from the earliest times, and as harmonized with reason by the Church. The most abstract and destructive reasoners, men like Hume, threatened even "natural" religion, by questioning the sequence of cause and effect, the uniformity of nature and the argument from design. Others, such as Butler, more empirical, were satisfied with probability, and the acceptance on this basis of a God of intelligence and moral purpose. And "natural" religion had a place for immortality. But, when it came to Christianity, most of the rationalists either rejected revelation out of hand as unsubstantiated and useless, or demanded that it should be investigated by the application of rationalist standards to its "evidences" in prophecy and miracle. The result, of course, was greatly to narrow the content of religion, and to leave it without means for dealing with evil and suffering. As the inadequacy, for religious needs, of the results obtained by the rationalists became apparent in the later century, reasoning tended to become less abstract. For example, Lessing, showing some of the nineteenth-century taste for an historical approach, and for the tracing of developments, was willing to regard revelation as a method by which men could be educated more rapidly in the truths derivable from reason! Kant's ingenious attempt to re-inforce "natural" religion by claiming that God, though utterly unknowable, must be believed in for the fulfilment of the moral obligations felt by man, succeeded much better. And, since his insistence that man's spirit remains free (despite the fact that all his actions are subject to the order of the universe) was seized upon by the romanticists, he built a firmer bridge than his contemporaries to the thought of the early nineteenth century.

Though no work so selective as this could fit all tastes, the book fulfills its purpose admirably. An able introduction is followed by unusually well selected excerpts arranged according to subject. Both may be read with profit by all who wish to see beneath the surface of modern European history, and especially by those interested in the Erastian Church of England's relations with the State.

H. C. F. Bell.

Wesleyan University,
Middletown, Conn.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

In the death on July 7, 1938 of Dr. Lawrence F. Flick of Philadelphia, the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION has lost not only its first president but a devoted friend of its leaders and a cherished director in all its policies the past twenty years. As a founder of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia in 1884 and as a founder of the ASSOCIATION in 1919, Dr. Flick achieved a place for himself in American historiography which, together with his greatest work—that of his successful fight on tuberculosis, has won him imperishable honor.

The Fourth International Congress of Christian Archaeology was held in the Lateran Palace, Rome, from October second to eighth. The general subject of the sessions was the origin and development of sacred buildings in ancient Christian times. The well known Church historian, Monsignor J. P. Kirsch, director of the Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Christiana, presided. Among the members of the Honorary Committee were the Very Rev. Vincent McCormick, S.J., the American Rector of the Università Gregoriana of Rome, and Professors More of Princeton and Rostovtzeff of Yale.

Some very interesting letters (1834-1840) of young Karl Joseph Hefele, later the famous professor, historian and bishop, are edited with a foreword by Professor S. Loesch in *Theologische Quartalschrift* (1938, Heft 1).

The article by Ernst Klebel, "Herzogtuemer und Marken bis 900", in *Deutsches Archiv*, II (1938), 1, offers an enlightening study of the titles *comes* and *dux* and precise information on when the Germanic *Graf* and *Herzog* began to be used for the Latin titles. In the same number Austin Lane Poole contributes an article, translated into German by Frau E. Schramm-v. Thadden, on the exile of Henry the Lion of Saxony, whose wife was Mathilda, daughter of Henry II of England. Mr. Poole has gleaned a great deal of information from the pipe rolls on the itinerary of the Saxon duke and his family and the subsidies they received from the English king.

On the occasion of its thirteenth centenary, Father J. Madoz, S.J., publishes a study on the creed formulated by the Sixth Council of Toledo (638) in *Gregorianum*, 1938, 2. There is no critical edition of this creed. Father Madoz brings further evidence of its authenticity, which has never been seriously doubted. He shows its relative position among the creeds promulgated by the early Spanish councils.

Recently most of the bibliography on Anna Comnena and her famous history has been in English. Père B. Leib has begun an edition with a French translation: *Anne Comnène, Alexiade.* Vol. I contains a masterly introduction of 182 pages and books I–IV of the history. (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, Association Guillaume Budé, 1937.)

The attitude of the world's thinkers toward the idea of natural law has exerted a profound influence on history. J. Leclerq, who has written extensively on the subject, has a "Note sur la position actuelle du droit naturel" in *Revue néoscolastique de philosophie,* May, 1938.

Josiah Cox Russell is publishing additions to his valuable *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England.* They are issued in loose-leaf form with the *Bulletin of Historical Research.*

The XIX volume of the *Franciscan Studies* is devoted entirely to a canonico-historical treatise on the Portiuncula Indulgence by the Very Rev. Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv., Assistant Professor of Church History at the Catholic University. The work is not only a historical development of the world-famous indulgence from Honorius III to Pius XI but also a valuable epitome of all the recent ecclesiastical legislation on the matter.

De Tertio Ordine Saeculari S.P.N. Francisci is a recent brochure (pp. 52) from the pen of the Most Rev. Bede Hess, Minister General of the Friars Minor Conventuals (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1938). Documentated throughout, this work on the Third Order Secular is undoubtedly one of the best of modern studies on the whole subject of the Third Order which popes, like Pius XI, have looked upon as the ideal exemplification of their plan of social action.

The John K. Mullen of Denver Library of the Catholic University of America has recently received a complete set of the catalog cards of the Vatican Library. This set, now containing about 20,000 items, is regarded as a most valuable bibliographical tool for scholars in the Catholic field. It completes, incidentally, the list of catalogs of the great libraries of the world now possessed by the University. The Vatican library is made up of many collections of books and manuscripts; the approach to these has often been very difficult because of the lack or the meagre character of the catalogs, most of which had been made for individual collections. The general catalog was far from complete. In 1913, the present Pontiff, Pius XI, then Prefect of the Vatican Library, took up the work of reconstructing a general catalog, but his efforts were interrupted by the World War. Shortly after the War, Duke Gelasio Caetani, Italian Ambassador to the United States, succeeded in interesting several scholars, including those administering the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in the task of making the treasures of the Vatican Library more available for research students throughout the world. As a result of his activities, the officials

of the Vatican Library and a number of prominent American librarians worked out a plan with the Carnegie Endowment for the reorganization of the Vatican Library. This plan included the construction of an author index to the manuscripts, a card catalog of the printed books, and an index to the incunabula.

One of the first steps taken under the reorganization plan was the adoption of the general principles and practices of the Library of Congress system of classification. The Library of Congress assisted in many ways: specialists were sent to the Vatican to advise; a depository catalog of its cards was placed in the Library; and printed catalog cards were furnished for those books in the Vatican Library which the Library of Congress had already cataloged. The Vatican Library worked out a code of cataloging rules which at once conforms to the international character of its own readers and to the universal character of the Church itself. To insure a high degree of conformity with modern cataloging and classification processes, five assistants of the Vatican Library were sent to study library science in American universities and to visit several American and European libraries. On account of these contacts, the Vatican printed cards resemble closely those of the Library of Congress and often contain the classification symbol of that institution. A high standard of accuracy is maintained in the making of the cards, and the availability of so many authorities brings to the contents of the cards a high degree of scholarship. The actual work of cataloging began in 1928 and the printed cards have been distributed since 1930. Complete sets are now to be found in the better research libraries where they are of great help to scholars.

The negotiations for the reorganization of the Vatican Library were carried on chiefly by Monsignor (now Cardinal) Giovanni Mercati, Prefect, and Monsignor (now Cardinal) Eugène Tisserant, Curator of Oriental Manuscripts, of the Vatican, and by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Dr. Henry Pritchett, trustee of the Carnegie Endowment, Dr. William W. Bishop, of the University of Michigan, Mr. Charles Martel and Mr. J. C. M. Hanson, of the Library of Congress, and Dr. W. M. Randall, of the University of Chicago. Cardinal Tisserant spent several months in this country in the summer of 1927 visiting libraries and studying American library methods. During that time he not only acquired a vast amount of information about American libraries but brought to American librarians a new and refreshing appreciation of European libraries and librarianship.

A notable service is being rendered to the scholarly world by the activity of the group which is indexing by author the manuscripts of the Vatican Library. Since this is the most notable collection of manuscripts in the world, the importance of the work can clearly be seen. The project was started some thirty years ago by the Vatican Library itself and has been considerably helped by those who took part in the reorganization of the

Library a decade ago. The Vatican scribes themselves have done the bulk of the work thus far; but leading specialists in several fields have been called upon from time to time for rather extensive projects. These have included such men as Monsignor Hebbelynck, former rector of the University of Louvain, and Professor Landschoot of the same University, who have worked on the Coptic manuscripts; Professor Umberto Cassuto, of the Royal University of Rome, a specialist in Arabic manuscripts; Professor Levi della Vida, who is describing the Mohammedan Arabic manuscripts. Dr. Levi della Vida gave an interesting lecture on his work at the Catholic University of America in November of last year. The Christian Arabic material is being indexed by Father Giorgio Graf. Dom André Wilmart, Professor Bertalot, and Professor A. Campana are describing the Latin manuscripts. The index to the manuscripts is now being made on typewritten cards in international form and is intended to furnish the research worker with as full a description of the manuscript as possible. Cards have now been made for about 15,000 of the manuscripts and these have already been of very valuable assistance to scholars.

Another reference set recently added to the collections at the Catholic University of America is the *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog*, which has now reached its twelfth volume and has been carried to *bauer*. This great work of reference was started (1931) as the *Gesamtkatalog der Preussischen Bibliotheken*, but with the ninth volume (1936) it began to include 103 libraries in all parts of Germany. Constructed as it is with the usual German thoroughness and including the contents of some of the finest libraries and most notable research collections in the world, it is also indispensable for scholars in any field. With the advent of microfilm service, the possibilities for research have been multiplied many times by the publication of the catalogs of the German, British, French and Vatican libraries.

The Very Rev. J. B. Chabot, of Paris, long associated with Msgr. Henry Hyvernat in the editorship of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, has retired from active work in that capacity. This monumental work, which has been sponsored jointly by the University of Louvain and the Catholic University of America, has now reached the 110th volume. A good part of the library of Father Chabot has been transferred to the Library of the Catholic University of America. This collection contains some sets of great value for the study of the historical and the philological sciences. One of the most notable of these is the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, including in nineteen parts the *Lois*, the *Documents Armeniens*, the *Historiens Orientaux*, the *Historiens Occidentaux* and the *Historiens Grecs*. Fifty-three fascicles of the *Monuments et Memoires*, published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres for the Fondation Eugène Piot are included. There is also a quite complete file of the *Bibliothèque de L'Ecole des Hautes Études*.

The thirteenth volume (part 2, Paques-Peinture) of the *Dictionnaire D'Archaeologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* contains several articles of more than usual interest to those who have followed the scholarly work of Cabrol and Leclercq. The article on "Paris", consisting of 373 columns, abounds in interesting information, including lengthy descriptions of the early history of Paris, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and of the liturgical manuscripts of that institution.

The University of Pennsylvania Press has recently issued, in an edition limited to three hundred copies, an elaborate photostatic reproduction of *Le Manuscrit du Roi*, together with an introductory descriptive volume by the editors, Jean and Louise Beck. The original, which is a part of the Mazarin collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, has a clear text and is richly ornamented. These volumes represent the first contributions to a *Corpus Cantilenarum medii aevi.*

The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research (vol. XVII, 1936-1937) contains Volume II of the publication of *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim*, by Dr. William Foxwell Albright, of Johns Hopkins University. The first volume was entitled *The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns* and the present monograph bears the sub-title *The Bronze Age.* The work is published by the American Schools of Oriental Research under the Jane Dows Nies Publication Fund.

Dr. G. William Schlindwein, of Erie, Pennsylvania, recently gave to the Library of the Catholic University of America a set of *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Several Nations of the World*, in six handsomely bound volumes. The work was printed in London in 1731. The text is very good and the work is elaborately illustrated with more than a hundred copper plates.

A valuable contribution to the *Studies in German* published by the Catholic University of America is volume X, *Angelus Silesius' Personality through his Ecclesiologia*, by Sister Mary Hilda Godecker, O.S.B., Ph.D. (pp. 92), done under the direction of Professor Leo Behrendt of the same institution. Silesius (Johann Scheffler) was born in 1624, of noble Lutheran parents, and was an M.D., and a Ph.D. in 1648. In June, 1652, he became a Catholic, and in 1661 was ordained to the priesthood. He died in 1677. Only within recent times has his great ability become better known. As "mystic, physician, scholar, theologian, poet, lyrist, and polemicist", writes the author, he "was one of the prominent writers in Germany during the seventeenth century." Ludwig von Pastor mentions him with high praise in his *Geschichte der Päpste* (XIV, 104).

E. P. Goldschmidt and Company have recently issued an attractive catalogue entitled *The Revival of Learning: European Scholastics in the XVth and the XVIth Centuries.* The catalogue, beautifully illustrated with contemporary woodcuts, contains 258 items.

Abbé Fernand Mourret, S.S., died recently (June 13) in Paris at age of eighty-four. For the greater part of his life he taught history at the Seminary of St. Suplice in Paris. He was the author of numerous monographs on Church history, including a nine-volume general history.

Among the summaries appearing in the June issue of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* is one of Jean L. Copeland, "The relations between the secular clergy and the mendicant friars in England during the century after the rise of the bull *Super cathedram*."

The Vigo Review (2 Rector Street, New York City) is a monthly magazine devoted to the history, life and achievements of the Italian people, from the earliest times to our own, both in the Old World and in the New. Its chief aim is to create good will between the American and Italian peoples, by giving expression to the Italian point of view on vital problems of the day, and especially by dealing with subjects which affect Americans of Italian origin. Nevertheless, *The Vigo Review* is and intends to be known as a strictly American publication. Its interest in Italy is purely cultural and religious, for it is a Catholic magazine. Yet, it would not hesitate to praise an Italian of the Protestant faith, if his achievements were such as to add prestige to the Italian name. Above all, it is interested in research work dealing with Italian pioneers in the United States and in the publication of documents which shed some light on the Italian contribution to America. In order to help future research students, at the end of every year an index will be compiled by subjects and names of persons. It is named after Col. Francis Vigo, the patriot who made possible the victory of George Rogers Clark at Vincennes and through it the acquisition of the Old Northwest by the United States. The editor is Giovanni Schiavo, author of *The Italians in America before the Civil War* (New York, 1934, pp. 399).

On June 21-23 the Franciscan Educational Conference held its twentieth annual meeting at St. Anthony's-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y. The discussions this year were devoted to the youth movement. Papers were read by members of all three Families of the Franciscan Order on all vital subjects affecting the education and training of our Catholic Youth, including the delinquent boy. These papers will appear some time during the Fall in the usual printed Report of the Conference edited by the Secretary, the Very Rev. Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap., Ph.D., of Washington, D. C.

Due to Nazi activities in newly-acquired Austria the theological faculty of the University of Innsbruck, heretofore in charge of the Jesuits, will cease to function as part of the University or to be subsidized by the State. Instead, the Jesuits will carry on their theological faculty as an Institutum Pontificium at the Canisianum, their hospice for ecclesiastical students.

The Franciscan Martyrs of North America by Fr. Marion Habig, O.F.M., is a contribution to the history of Spain in the New World.

The current issue (anno VII, Fasc. I, Ian.-Ivn., 1938) of the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, issued by the Jesuit Historical Institute of Rome, is filled with interesting articles, all written with the consummate scholarship which marks the work of its members. One, by Father Felix Zubillaga, S.J., entitled "P. Pedro Martinez (1533-1566), la primera sangre jesuitica en las misiones norte-americanas" (pp. 30-53) is of special value to American Church history, since he was the first priest to be murdered by the Indians in the eastern part of the United States, on Cumberland Island, off the coast of Georgia. The same journal contains (pp. 138-172) the first part of a "Bibliographia de Historia Societatis Iesu", by Father Eduardo Lamalle, S.J., who also contributes a sketch of the work done or in progress by the Historical Institute.

Through the Sunday Visitor Press (Huntington, Indiana), Monsignor Victor Day of Helena, Montana, has issued a short biographical sketch of his illustrious countryman, Father Damien.

The Gilpin Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently published *New Sweden: 1638-1938. Being a Catalogue of Rare Books and Manuscripts Relating to the Swedish Colonization on the Delaware River* (pp. 52). One of the rare books mentioned is Beauchamp Plantagenet's *Description of the Province of New Albion* (London, 1648). New Albion (New Jersey) was granted by Charles I to Sir Edmund Plowden (who is probably Plantagenet) for Catholic colonization purposes. After an unsuccessful attempt, Plowden abandoned the colony and it reverted to the Duke of York in 1664. The booklet was prepared by Dr. Julian Boyd, librarian of the Gilpin Library.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference of Washington, D. C., has added to its departments one to be devoted to promoting a wider knowledge of Catholic thought, history and action. Mr. Paul R. Martin-Dillon, with a long and honorable record in letters, has been made director of the new department.

"The Beginnings of University Life in America", by Carlos E. Castañeda, Ph.D., Latin American Librarian at the University of Texas and first vice-president of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, which appeared in the July, 1938 issue of this REVIEW, has been reprinted in brochure form by the Rev. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., Ph.D., president of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, as volume III, no. 4 of its *Preliminary Studies*.

The Rev. Dr. John M. Cooper, head of the department of anthropology in the Catholic University of America, has published as No. 5 of his

Anthropological Series *Snares, Deadfalls, and other Traps of the Northern Algonquins and Northern Athapaskans* (pp. 144).

Sister Ursula Thomas, O.S.B., Ph.D., has contributed to the July issue of *Mid-America* a model bibliography for the study of the Catholic Church on the Oklahoma frontier.

The Cathedral of Saint Helena (Helena, Montana, Standard Publishing Company, 1938, pp. 180) by Monsignor Day, Vicar-General of the diocese, is something more than a description of the edifice. It contains the framework of a complete history of the Montana diocese and is written in a graphic style and amply illustrated.

The Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University (Chicago) announces the publication of *The Journal of Jean Cavelier* by Rev. JEAN DELANGLEZ, S.J., Ph.D., Assistant Research Professor of History, Loyola University, Chicago. This is the second of the series of historical publications of the Institute of Jesuit History. The first volume of this eminent scholar brought out new aspects of Mississippi Valley history and threw considerable light upon the activities of La Salle. This second volume is a new and complete edition of the journal of the brother of La Salle. The French text is given page by page along with an exceptionally accurate English translation. The critical editorial notes and bibliography enhance the value of the contribution. The book as a whole gives the story of the tragic colonization effort of La Salle in Texas.

The Rev. Raymond Corrigan, S.J., Ph.D. (Munich), Director of the Department of History in St. Louis University and a member of the Advisory Board of Editors of this REVIEW, has recently published (The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, pp. xii, 326, $3.50) a work of scholarly value entitled *The Church and the Nineteenth Century*. The book is concise, clear and brilliantly written, and takes its honorable place along with similar studies by MacCaffrey, Schmidlin, Mourret and Schnabel. Father Joseph Husslein, S.J., general editor of the "Science and Culture Series", of which this is the latest publication, adds a word or two in his Preface on what he calls "the author's credentials". While the background of Dr. Corrigan's studies "had been secured at American universities, his more advanced studies were pursued in the Collegio Maximo at Saria, Spain; in the Ignatiuskolleg at Valkenburg, Holland; and at the universities of Bonn and Munich. In addition he continued his historical researches at Rome, Paris and London. A teaching experience of some years in Central America still more broadened his horizon and widened his sympathies."

Vol. II of Jean Guiraud's *Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen-Age*, recently issued by Picard of Paris, covers the story of the Inquisition in France, Spain and Italy during the twelfth century.

The *Report, 1936-1937* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association contains five papers read at the annual meeting of the Association held in Toronto, October 20-21, 1937. In order these papers are: Rev. John E. Burns, "The Abbé Maillard and Halifax"; Rev. Brother Alfred, F.S.C., "The Honourable John Elmsley, 1801-1863"; Rev. J. A. Lenhard, "German Catholics in Ontario"; W. L. Scott, "Sir Richard Scott, 1825-1913"; and Donald J. Pierce, "The Rebellion of 1837 and Political Liberty".

Jeanne Danemarie has recently published *Une Fille américaine de M. Vincent: Anne-Elizabeth Seton* (Paris, B. Grasset).

The *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, for June, contains the life-story (1834-1896) of the celebrated missionary, Bishop Martin Marty, O.S.B., by Father Ildefons Betschart, O.S.B., translated by Rev. Joseph Eisenbarth, O.S.F.S., of the Northeast Catholic High School, Philadelphia.

This month, the Catholic University of America opens its golden jubilee with exercises which are to continue until October twelfth, 1939. Monsignor Guilday has been commissioned by the Right Reverend Rector, Monsignor Corrigan, to write the history of the past fifty years of the University's activities.

The late Cardinal Hayes and the late Monsignor Edward J. McGolrick of Brooklyn were two of the oldest Life members of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The first meeting of the Executive Commission of the Committee on Local Arrangements for the coming XIXth annual sessions of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, to be held in the Hotel Stevens, Chicago, December 28-30, 1938, was called on September ninth by the Very Rev. Samuel K. Wilson, S.J., Ph.D., President of Loyola University, Chicago, and Chairman of the General Committee. There were present: Rev. Matthias Braun, S.V.D., St. Mary's Mission House; Rev. Edward V. Cardinal, C.S.V., St. Viator College; Sister Mary Celeste, R.S.M., St. Xavier College, Mr. John W. Curran, De Paul University (representing Mr. Richard Schnettler); Sister Mary Eva, O.P., Rosary College (representing Sister Mary Evelyn, O.P.); Mr. Mark E. Guerin, Loyola University; Rev. Harold Koenig, S.T.D., St. Mary of the Lake Seminary; Miss Margaret E. Richardson, Barat College; Sister Mary Augustina Ray, B.V.M., Mundelein College; Rev. Timothy Sparks, O.P., Dominican House of Studies; Dr. Frank Weberg, College of St. Francis; Very Rev. Samuel K. Wilson, S.J., Ph.D., Loyola University, Chairman. Ways and means of arousing public interest in the sessions were discussed, sub-committees were named, and it was decided to hold a second meeting this month.

Those who will read papers at the three morning sessions are: The Very Rev. John Hugh O'Donnell, C.S.C., Ph.D., vice-president of Notre Dame

University; Sister Mary Ambrose, B.V.M., Clarke College, Dubuque; Edward P. Lilly, Ph.D., Loyola University, Chicago; Rev. Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., Ph.D., Marquette University; Rev. Raymond Corrigan, S.J., Ph.D., St. Louis University; Rev. Matthias Braun, S.V.D., St. Mary's College, Techny, Ill.; Rev. John J. Laux, M.A., Covington, Ky.; Paul R. Conroy, Ph.D., Canisius College, Buffalo; and Rev. Harry C. Koenig, S.T.D., Mundelein Seminary. Two luncheon conferences will be given by Sister M. Celeste, Ph.D., Saint Xavier College for Women, Chicago, Ill.; and Rev. John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap., St. Augustine Monastery, Pittsburgh, Penna.

In the formulation of thought on international peace, The Catholic International Peace Congress met at the Hague from August 19 to 22. The general topic of the Congress was "The Foundations of International Order," with discussion under the headings of Political Causes of International Disorder and Their Remedy; Economic Causes of International Disorder and Their Remedy; and The Organization of International Society. About fifty theologians, professors, writers, and men of affairs versed in international ethics attended the conference, which was presided over by Rev. J. B. Kors, O.P., Professor of Theology at the University of Nijmegen. The Vice-Presidents were Msgr. John A. Ryan, of the Catholic University of America, Msgr. Beaupin, director of the Catholic Commission of Intellectual Coöperation, Rev. A. Muller, S.J., head of the Commercial College of St. Ignace at Antwerp, and Rev. Leo O'Hea, S.J., of the Catholic Social Guild, London. No official representatives of Germany or Italy attended the Conference. At previous sessions the Italian Catholics seem to have found difficulty in effecting an intellectual approach on vital problems with their confreres from democratic countries. It is believed that the German bishops were unwilling to risk reprisals in their own country. Defining peace as "the tranquillity resulting from a state of society in which men and nations are assured a life conforming to their natural and Christian destiny through their participation in the common good," the Congress branded as a cause of international disorder "any fact or any doctrine which diverts statecraft from the realization among the peoples of the world of a juridical and fraternal order based upon the unity of the human race, the equality of nature and the solidarity of mankind." National sentiment was recognized as one of the moral bases of the political order, but totalitarian and racial theories in conflict with this solidarity were denounced with the conclusion that "to subordinate the whole of human life and social life to racial and nationalist ends is to reverse the order of essential values." In recognizing the connection between political and economic peace, the participants stressed the necessity of international economic exchange. The League of Nations was praised as a noteworthy attempt to organize the natural society of states on a juridical basis, and Catholics were asked "to refrain from purely negative criticism of the League, which implies condemnation of the principles of

natural law incorporated in the Covenant." The International Organizing Committee of the Congress was composed of Bishop Myers, Auxiliary to the Archbishop of Westminster, president, Rev. J. B. Kors, O.P., vice-president, Rev. A. Muller, S.J., Rev. J. Delos, O.P., of the Catholic University of Lille, Rev. T. F. Divine, S.J., of the United States, Mr. F. W. Ryan, Dublin, and Mr. John Eppstein, Assistant Secretary of the League of Nations Union and member of Catholic Council for International Relations, secretary.

The fourth national conference of Mexican Catholic Action, which met in June, has reported substantial gains in membership and activity, nearly 190,000 persons being enrolled as active members at that time. Particular stress was laid upon the necessity of preparing competent leaders for the work. In general, the Church is experiencing an era of increased toleration. All the bishops, except three, are back in their dioceses, and worship is permitted in most centers, outside of the rabidly anti-religious States of Tabasco and Vera Cruz. Some progress has been made even here. The great disability of Catholicism still lies in article 3 of the Constitution which makes Socialistic education compulsory in all primary schools.

Over 1000 representative scholars of 49 countries attended the Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences which met at Zurich, August 29 – September 3. Soviet Russia alone of the larger countries was not represented: Russia goes only to Geneva, in Switzerland. There were 40 registered from the United States (among them Father Kaufmann, S.J., of Creighton University, and Dr. L. F. Stock, delegate from Carnegie Institution of Washington); Vatican City participated in the person of Professor Wilhelm Peitz, S.J.; and for the first time in the history of the congress China was represented—by the brilliant young scholar, Professor Hu-Shi, who has done much for the revival of historical study in his country. Dr. Hu-Shi has since been appointed minister to the U. S.

All sessions, with the exception of the opening exercises, were held at the University of Zurich which is admirably adapted for the purpose. Fifteen sections produced nearly 300 papers in the fields of prehistory, ancient history and archaeology, the auxiliary sciences, numismatics, the Middle Ages and Byzantine history, modern history since 1914, the history of non-European countries, religion, law and institutions, economic and social history, military history, the history of ideas, of science, historical method, and population.

It is not possible to mention even by title the many topics which were offered in these fields. To the non-European whose ears are not easily attuned to the rapid reading in French, German, or Italian there is at such international gatherings a loss not compensated by the printed abstracts which in this case were furnished in two volumes of 584 pages to the attending delegates. A reading knowledge of any or all of these languages

still left unintelligible the earnest discussion which often followed the presentation of the paper. Some communications were made in English (as, for example, Dr. Solon Buck's splendid statement of the services of the National Archives of the United States to historical research); and it was comforting to the American and Englishman to note that, generally speaking, this language seemed as "foreign" to the Continental as did the European tongues to the former groups. It was a tribute to the sanity of historically-trained groups that, in spite of some topics charged with controversy, no incident threatened the peace of the meetings.

Reference to a few of the papers which were presented will give some slight understanding of the nature of the congress. Prof. Paribeni, of Rome, discussed "La politica religiosa dei primi imperatori Romani"; Prof. Zakrzewski, University of Warsaw, speaking of "Le rôle du christianisme dans la ruine du monde ancien", thought that Christianity while accepting the heritage of paganism greatly enriched the literary and artistic work of the popular classes and enlarged enormously the social base of Greco-Roman civilization. Mathilde Uhlirz's paper treated of "Kaiser Otto III und das Papsttum"; Oscar Halecki's of "Occident et Orient à l'époque des grands conciles"; Prof. Fink's of "Papsttum und Kirchenreform nach dem grossen Schisma"; Prof. Van Schelven's of "Der Generalstab des politischen Calvinismus in Zentral-Europa beim Anfang des 30-jährigen Krieges"; and Prof. Almquist's of "Königin Christine und die österreichische Protestantenfrage um die Zeit des westphälischen Friedens". Yvonne Bezard, of Archives Nationales, Paris, read a paper on "Les émigrés français dans la principauté de Neuchâtel de 1789 à 1800", which devoted considerable attention to the emigration of the clergy. Prof. Ghisalberti, University of Palermo, speaking of "le Riforme di Pio IX e la Rivoluzione Italiana del 1848", made reference to recent publications of diplomatic documents which throw additional light on the pope's action during 1846-1848. Readers of this REVIEW may soon have the pleasure of reading in its pages the paper of Prof. Ernest L. Woodward of Oxford, on the Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century which was based mainly upon the unpublished correspondence between Acton and Döllinger. Acton's religion, declared Prof. Woodward, and his attitude toward history kept him apart from the main currents of English and continental liberalism. Acton was a devout and sincere Catholic; his religious faith deepened throughout his life, and his devotion to the Church was unaffected by his conflicts with ecclesiastical authority. In examining the Roots of Modern Nationalism, Prof. Hans Kohn did not overlook the Reformation and Counter-Reformation as factors operating against secular nationalism.

In the section devoted to Church History, Giorgio Falco presented "Sulla conseguenze pratiche della riforma gregoriana"; Prof. Guidi, Rome, read a paper on "Il Cristianesimo Orientale"; Prof. Ernest F. Jacob,

University of Manchester, reconsidered the English Concordat with the Papacy in 1418, in the light of the document and from a closer study of the provisions in the concordat itself. After the autumn of 1417 the English attitude towards reform, said the speaker, lacked the zeal displayed in the earlier stages of conciliar action. Examples of this can be seen later, when the convocation of Canterbury debated the bull of Eugenius IV dissolving the council at Basel. Other papers in this section were "Les réformés italiens à Genève", by T. R. Castiglione; "Le cardinal Stanislas Hosius et le Concile de Trente", by Abbé Joseph Umiński; "L'église de la Confession helvétique à Vilno et en Pologne orientale", by M. Gizbert-Studnicki; "Lo sviluppo della teologia morale nella controriforme", by Prof. Pincherle; "Les jésuites tchéco-moraves et l'Europe orientale", by Prof. Florovsky of Prague; "Ragioni e finalità ultime della politica ecclesiastica di Maria Teresa e di Giuseppe II", by Prof. Jemolo, Rome; "El Jansenismo en España", by Cayetano Alcazar; "Les débuts de la querelle janséniste en Belgique", by Léopold Willaert, S.J.; "L'état actuel des recherches sur le jansénisme en Europe centrale", by Prof. Zolnai (a bibliographical study); "Der Jansenismus in den Sudetenländern", by Prof. E. Winter of Prague; and "L'état actuel des études d'histoire ecclésiastique du Moyen âge en France", by Prof. Aug. Fliche.

In other sections, Dr. Carlo de Clercq discussed "Droit ecclésiastique franc de Gaule et de Lombardie à l'époque de Charlemagne"; Prof. Guido Kisch, New York, had an interesting theme in the Influence of the Bible on Medieval Legal Thought in England and Germany, which showed the significance of the Bible for King Alfred's code of laws and for the German *Sachsenspiegel*, the oldest and most famous medieval German law-book. Camille Bloch, of the Sorbonne, presented "La condition légale des protestants en France au XVIII[e] siècle"; J. O. Russell, of the University of North Carolina, in his paper on the Decline of Population, 200-700 A. D., and its intellectual and social results, mentioned among the latter the emphasis upon celibacy and the contribution depopulation made to the triumph of Christianity in advancing the belief in a future life. Prof. Jean de Pange, of Paris, spoke on "L'onction royale et les órigines de la royauté religieuse"; Dr. Von den Steinen on "Die Renaissance des 12. Jahrhunderts"; Daniel A. Callus, Oxford, on "Aristotelian Learning at the University of Oxford in the 13th Century"; Jean Alazard on "Spätrenaissance, Contre-réforme et Baroque"; Prof. D. Mararasu, of Bucharest, on "Erasme et le principe de l'imitation á l'époque humaniste"; Luis Legaz y Lacambra on "Die Ethik der Gegenreformation und der Geist des Kapitalismus"; Henri Bédarida, of the Sorbonne, on "Ribera, dit l'Espagnolet, peintre de la Contre-Réforme"; and Ferdinand Pelikán, Prague, on "Esquisse d'une methodologie de l'histoire de la philosophie". Many other papers dealing with the Middle Ages and with the nature and philosophy of history were of great interest.

The Swiss were hospitable hosts: dinners, music, receptions, and excursions by boat and automobile were provided for the entertainment of the delegates and their wives. The American delegation gave a congratulatory dinner to Dr. Waldo G. Leland, executive secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, who was elected president of the International Committee for the next five years. This was a well-deserved honor; for to Mr. Leland more than to any other individual is due the present strength and influence of the organization. He has brought to the committee his peculiar gift of administration, a contagious enthusiasm, scholarly direction, and the ability to preserve an international viewpoint, often in the face of most trying and difficult conditions. At the closing session of the congress, Dr. Leland, speaking in French, outlined his policy for the period of his incumbency. His statement that he would work for intellectual freedom evoked hearty applause. An invitation to hold the next meeting of the congress, five years hence, at Rome was received, but definite action on the proposal was postponed for a year.

Documents. Adolfo Rivolta, "Epistolario giovanile di S. Carlo Borromeo" (*Aevum*, April-Sept., 1938); P. Ilarino da Minalo, O.M.Cap., "La 'Manifestatio heresis catarorum quam fecit Bonacursus' secondo il Cod. Ottob. Lat. 136 della Biblioteca Vaticana" (*Aevum*, April-Sept., 1938); George P. Hammond, "Oñate's appointment as Governor of New Mexico" (*New Mexico Hist. Review*, July, 1938).

Anniversaries. 200th. Parish of Pointe du Lac, Quebec, July 31, 1938.

BRIEF NOTICES

BEERS, HENRY PUTNEY, *Bibliographies in American History: Guide to Materials for Research.* (New York, H. W. Wilson Company, 1938, pp. 339.) The author of this much-needed *instrument de travail* modestly calls it "an attempt at a comprehensive collection of bibliographical materials for research in American history." It is far more than that; it is the work of a scholar who has not only a consummate command of his field but who also, as his Preface reveals, sought and obtained the skilled service of the best students in American bibliographical lore. The first chapter lists the general working tools of the subject and has every principal work researchers need to have at their disposal. Particularly of interest is the section on newspapers, since these are assuming more than secondary importance for our history. The second chapter deals with the colonial period, the Revolution and the Confederation. This is followed by the general bibliographies of the United States. From here on the book stems into various special aspects of American history. It is chapter ten on Religious History that will have most interest to many of the readers of this Review, and herein they will not be disappointed. Following the list of general bibliographies on the religious background of the United States, there are sections devoted to the different Churches. The list on the Catholic Church is adequately done. Two additions might be added—Bulletin No. 1 of the American Church History Seminar at the Catholic University—*Dissertations in American Church History (1889 to 1932)*, printed privately, Washington, D. C., 1933; and attention might have been called to the selected bibliographies in the twenty-seven volumes of doctoral dissertations from the same University on special aspects of the history of Catholicism in the United States. A final chapter (XIV) on the individual States will prove a boon to all students (pp. 226-300). The Index of thirty-nine pages, three columns to a page, is a model of its kind and renders the handling of the book easy and accurate. Mr. Beers has placed every American history student in his debt and is to be congratulated on so successful a work in the most tedious and perplexing of all the auxiliary sciences of history. Again, the H. W. Wilson Company has achieved a bibliographical success. (P. G.)

KEELER, LEO W., S.J., ed., *Ex Summa Philippi Cancellarii Quaestiones de anima* [Opuscula et textus historiam ecclesiae eiusque vitam atque doctrinam illustrantia, Series Scholastica, fasc. 20.] (Muenster, Aschendorff, 1937, pp. 106, RM 1. 42.) The splendid work that Father Keeler was accomplishing makes his early death a great loss to scholarship. The present little book is an edition of thirteen important questions on psychology from the *Summa* of Philip, chancellor of the University of Paris (1218-1236). The brief Latin introduction, based largely on the research of Henri Meylan, contains valuable

information on Philip and his *Summa*. He was a pioneer among the Latins in the field of psychology, using Aristotle through Avicenna. The influence on other authors of his questions pertaining to psychology is very evident up to *c.* 1245. The volume, though it does not offer a critical edition, is extremely useful as a seminar text. This holds for the other volumes of the series, which now numbers about thirty titles on scholastic thought and on liturgy. (A. K. ZIEGLER.)

KETTER, PETER, *Christ and Womankind*. Translated from the second revised edition and enlarged by Isabel McHugh. (London, Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1937, pp. xvi, 446, 18 s.) This exceedingly interesting and scholarly work well bears out the author's admission in his foreword that he found valuable inspiration for his scientific study in his sacerdotal work among women. Herein the results of profound historical and exegetical research coalesce with a comprehensive and sympathetic understanding of woman's spiritual program of advancement. Dr. Ketter has marvellously succeeded in shedding new light on the resplendent figure of Christ in considering Him in His relation to womankind. This book, divided into four parts, considers these general topics: The Status of Women before Christ, Christ's Gifts to and Requirements of Womankind, Individual Women in the Life of Jesus, and Women of the Apostolic Age. Besides the precise exegetical content which will delight any lover of the inspired Word, one marvels at Dr. Ketter's great wisdom displayed in his application of principles underlying Christ's dealing with women to modern woman's problems particularly. This work is a model for the exegete who would essay to present his knowledge in a popular style, a treasure for the spiritual reader and a powerful stimulant to the preacher who would offer new and practical matter to assemblies of women. (G. B. S.)

LASSON, NELSON B., *The History and Development of the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. 150.) This volume contains an excellent description of the historical background, both English and Colonial, of the Fourth Amendment to our Constitution, and an adequate presentation of the cases arising under that Amendment. Fifty pages are devoted to the English antecedents, fifty-six pages to the American experience during the Colonial period and up to the time of its adoption, and forty-four pages to a discussion of the cases in which the amendment has been construed by the Supreme Court of the United States. This third phase is treated less exhaustively than the English or early American background, but the entire volume is carefully documented, and if the author's treatment of American decisions does show less individuality than his discussion of historical antecedents, nevertheless, the book is a valuable contribution to the fields of constitutional history and law. (JAMES J. HAYDEN.)

MCCAIN, WILLIAM D., *The United States and the Republic of Panama*. (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1937, pp. 278, $3.00.) In this thoroughly annotated work, the history of Panama has been carefully narrated, from its discovery in 1501 to its career under the New Deal. One chapter

deals with all that preceded and culminated in the separation of Panama from Colombia. The remainder of the book concerns the career of the Republic, predominantly in its relations with the United States since that time. Without stretching facts to make a thesis or create a tone, the author repeatedly concludes that in these relations the ethics of Washington do not stand the highest tests. Thus he refers to the separation of Panama from Colombia as a "sordid deed of imperialism," and expresses a sympathetic but faltering hope that "the United States will cease its interference and permit the Isthmians to have a taste of independence in working out their own destiny—at least until the Canal is actually endangered." As J. Fred Rippy observes in the foreword, the author has not tried "to add anything distinctly new", to the history of the country or of its revolution in 1903. He has, however, given a thorough and objective study to the material and presented it in a way which may well make this the standard reference in its field. (JAMES A. MAGNER.)

MÜLLER, MICHAEL, *St. Francis de Sales.* (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1937, pp. x, 226, $2.25.) Any book that helps to make better known the life and work of the great bishop of Geneva is a matter of interest to those who have been captivated by the charm and attractive spirituality of St. Francis de Sales. Dr. Müller is a professor in the theological faculty of the University of Bamberg and one might think this work a translation from the German, though no such indication is given. The author introduces his study of Salesian spirituality with a twenty-seven page summary of the outstanding facts in the life history of St. Francis. The body of the volume is devoted to an analysis of the theology of love and of joy which characterized St. Francis' writings and his directions to those who sought his help. Dr. Müller has used the Annecy edition of the saint's works, and from the numerous quotations and citations of the *Oeuvres*, it is evident he has not depended upon what others have said of Francis, but has gone to the sources of his thought. The result is a very happy one. Here the reader finds a thoroughly enjoyable and profitable discussion of the spiritual ideals of one whose life and work make a strong appeal to the religious-minded people of our age. The book contains no serious errors in printing, but more important, it is lacking a bibliography and an index. Those interested in St. Francis would like to have the critical judgment of Dr. Müller on the literature dealing with the saint. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS.)

NEDONCELLE, MAURICE, *Baron Friedrich von Hügel, a Story of his Life and Thought.* (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1937, pp. xii, 213.) No contemporary figure in the English-speaking Catholic world has been the subject of such widely divergent interpretations and appreciations as the late Baron Von Hügel. There are many reasons for this. He dealt very largely with difficult subject-matter and he expressed his profound thoughts on the topics he selected for life-long study in a style that was at once barbarous and involved. In trying and stormy times he was the close associate of many scholars who left the Church or were condemned by Rome. The generous

appreciation he received then in Protestant theological circles did not strengthen his position in Catholic eyes, and neither did the efforts of the Catholic Modernists to claim him for their own. Estimates of his share in the Modernist movement have varied. Some have seen in him the real organizer and instigator of the revolt; others have regarded him as a theological "Typhoid-Mary", whose faith preserved him from the errors with which he indoctrinated others; others have thought he was only the unwitting accomplice of the chief figures of the movement. Enough time has elapsed since those days to justify the belief that a sympathetic and systematic study of his life and thought from the Catholic point of view was possible and necessary. Just such a book has been provided by Abbé Nedoncelle, who may safely claim to have written the best book on Von Hügel that has yet appeared. In his short and indispensable preliminary account of the Baron's unusual life, he appraises these conflicting estimates and puts things in proper perspective. He shows how fundamentally orthodox Von Hügel was and that the errors into which he fell in Scripture studies were due to an uncritical acceptance of the views of others in a field in which he was not an expert. But Modernism was only one aspect of Von Hügel's life, and it is the author's great merit that he has analyzed and outlined so well the Baron's thought on religion in all its phases, and his great work on mysticism. He was materially, though not formally, a great apologist and as such, and in the nobility of his life and character, merits careful study. (JOSEPH M. EGAN.)

PHELAN, GERALD B., *Jacques Maritain.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1937, pp. 57, $1.00.) *Jacques Maritain* is an extremely valuable little book which contains a bibliography of Maritain's works, both French and English, a short biography, an evaluation of Maritain as a philosopher, his stand on modern thought and a detailed analysis of one very small point—his insistence on a re-presentation of Thomistic thought. All this is done by a friendly and masterly hand. (W. F.)

POBLAUDURA, P. MELCHIORE, *Relationes De Origine Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum — Monumenta Historica Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum,* Vol. I, *Marius A Mercato Saraceno, O.M.Cap.* (Assisi, Collegio S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, 1937, pp. lxxxix, 522.) In his history of the Capuchins Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., states that it is unfortunate for the early history of the Capuchins that later writers have relied almost exclusively on the *Annales* of Boverius. Despite many excellent qualities Fra Zaccaria Boverio da Saluzzo "was hopeless as a historian." In view of the fact that he published in 1632-1639, it is not surprising to find that the first volume of the *Monumenta Historica Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum* contains the work of the first chronicler of the reform, Fra Mario a Mercato Saraceno (1512/13-1581). Fra Mario who became a Capuchin in 1539/40, had known Fra Matteo da Bassi as a boy and later on, as guardian of a Capuchin convent, had occasion to entertain this saintly founder who had left his Order. Fra Mario had known many of the early fathers personally and all during his religious life he held positions of trust including the office of general from 1567 to 1573. It is evident that he was in a position to know the beginnings of the reform. Father Melchior of

Pobladura has published all three of Fra Mario's Relations. The First Relation (1565) was written in letter-form to Fra Honorio da Montegranaro who had been asked by the Grand Duke of Tuscany for information concerning the beginnings of the reform. It occupies less than twenty pages and is concerned principally with Fra Matteo da Bassi. The Second Relation (1578) which occupies some sixty pages was composed at the request of Cardinal Santori. The principal addition it contains is the long account of the reform in Calabria. The Third Relation (1580) takes up nearly four hundred pages and is divided into four books. The first treats of the tribulations of the Franciscan Order in the time of John XXII and of the change in the habit, which was considered a point of great importance in the sixteenth century. The second book treats of the reform undertaken by Matteo da Bassi and Lodovico da Fossombrone. Here the charge which caused Fra Mario to extend his short accounts is met. Joseph Zarlino, a secular priest distinguished in the annals of music, had published at Venice in 1579 an account of the origin of the Capuchins in which he gives credit not to Matteo da Bassi nor, as some are now inclined to do, to Lodovico da Fossombrone, but to his compatriot Fra Paolo da Chioggia, who was certainly one of the first Capuchins. Zarlino was a boy of seven or eight years when the events which he narrates took place and consequently can only allege what he heard from his elders. As a witness he does not compare with Fra Mario. The element of local pride is also quite evident in this musician metamorphosed into historian. Indeed the claim that Fra Paolo was founder of the new Order cannot be taken seriously. If he had any title the early Capuchins, who esteemed his zeal and holiness, would never have robbed him of the glory and themselves of a founder who persevered in his vocation. The second book also contains precious pages on the manner of life of the early Capuchins. The third book contains a rather long account of Fra Giovanni da Fano and devotes much space to the reform in Calabria. Here we have a description of a debate in the presence of the Duke of Nocera between the reformed Friars and the Observants. In the fourth book the history of the development of the Order is continued. Here two figures dominate, that attractive and commanding figure of Fra Bernardino d'Asti who gave the Order its definitive orientation and the sinister figure of Bernardino Occhino. The latter was the Judas of those early years and Fra Mario makes no effort to defend him. All three relations are written in Italian. In appendices two important documents have been reprinted by the editor. The first is the compendium of the First Relation which Paul Morigia of the Order of the Jesuates inserted in his history of religious Orders, published in 1569. This account occupies but a little more than two pages. Secondly he has published J. Zarlino's account of the origin of the Order. This was the best way to refute it. All these important documents are published in accordance with the demands of modern scholarship. No fault whatsoever is to be found with the editor. He has also written a general introduction of great value. It contains a sketch of the life of Fra Mario, a description of the various manuscripts of the Relations, a brief discussion of the sources of the Third Relation and a disquisition on the historical value of Fra Mario's work. Some pages are also devoted to a very satisfactory explanation of the method used in the

edition. A complete table of contents and index are provided. As Father Melchior states, the edition gives us the means of judging for ourselves the value of the documents published. This reviewer agrees with the editor that Fra Mario was an excellent historian according to the principles of his time; which, be it noted in passing, were high even if they did not require all the technicalities which are laudably looked for to-day and which are all present in Father Melchior's edition. Finally, the spirit of sincere piety which pervades the pages of the Relations is very refreshing. There are passages of singular beauty which can take rank with the best which that century of saints produced. Particularly appealing is the description of the saintly Father Fra Matteo da Bassi with his hunger for perfect poverty and his conviction that God called him to be all his life a wandering preacher, a conviction which forced him to quit the Order he had, more than anyone else, called into being and which he loved till the end. Sketches of other pure and heroic souls abound. (E. A. RYAN.)

PRAVIEL, ARMAND, *Monsieur Vincent, Saint de Gascogne.* (Paris, La Bonne Presse, Paris, 1937, pp. 182.) This is the seventh volume of the collection *Idéalistes et Animateurs.* In the preface the author defends the title of his book, for although he realizes that Saint Vincent de Paul belongs to all humanity, he also feels that his greatness depended on the fact that he took from Gascogne that which he had best to offer and developed it within his life. The book is not written in the Gheon fashion, yet it contains some of the elements that are to be found in Gheon's *Secret of the Little Flower.* One feels that Praviel has aimed to depict especially the human element of Saint Vincent de Paul. This beautifully written book makes one realise that Saint Vincent was a plain ordinary man, who succeeded because he preferred to obey rather than to order, that he led a simple life depending much more upon God than upon himself, that he had many and various disappointments in his life but overcame them through his simplicity and complete abandonment of himself to God. He shows that Saint Vincent was not an idealist, that on the contrary he was a realist who knew life and understood many of its problems. Praviel presents him in such a way as to inspire one into action. (LEON BAISIER.)

PRIESTLY, HERBERT INGRAM (Trans.), *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages, Soldier of Spain.* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. xi, 83, $1.50.) First published in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, in 1919, in its January (pp. 486-509) and April (pp. 71-90) numbers, this reprint of Professor Priestly's translation makes available to a wider circle of readers one of the earliest descriptions of California. The author of the original, Pedro Fages, was second in command of the expedition which the Visitor-General, José de Gálvez, sent in 1769 to occupy Upper California; and after Gaspar de Portolá's retirement on July 9, 1770, served as *comandante* of the "New Establishments" until May 25, 1774. During his five years in California, Fages was a tireless explorer, visiting not only the coastal regions from San Diego to the Bay of San Francisco, but also the Imperial Valley and the upper and lower reaches of the San Joaquin

Valley. His *Continuación y suplemento* is the work of an experienced traveler and, as its perusal reveals, a keen observer endowed with an eye for detail. Written in that clear and orderly style so characteristic of Spanish official reports, the account is divided into six articles corresponding to as many marches of thirty to forty leagues. Each article in turn is subdivided into three headings: a topographical description of the regions visited, intended to serve as a road-map for future travelers; an appreciation of the five then existing missions, describing the first primitive structures of poles and reeds, the plans for future adobe buildings, the patience and ingenuity of the missionaries, and the need of more establishments to form a more closely linked and easily defended mission system; and finally a heading entitled, "Natural and Political History", in which is described the flora and fauna of each region, its peoples, their mode of living, social customs and religious practices. Fages' account is of prime importance to the naturalist and anthropologist, as well as to the historian. Professor Priestly's translation is clear and accurate. The volume has been enhanced by the inclusion of an early map of the San Joaquin Valley made in 1819 by José Mariá Estudillo and by the addition of a glossary of Indian words compiled by Fages and appended to the Seville manuscript of the original. Finally, to assist the reader in following the footsteps of the author, the translator has added a series of brief footnotes giving the modern equivalents of the original place-names, now grown obsolete. (Gerald J. Geary.)

Quénard, G., *Le Miracle des Eglises Noires*. (Paris, La Bonne Press, 1937, pp. 139.) Fr. Quénard, the General Superior of the Augustinians of the Assumption, narrates his trip to the Belgian Congo in 1935-1936, in which he gives a clear insight into his many journeys throughout this part of Africa. The narration is done so simply that a child might easily understand it, and so beautifully written that it may inspire some to take up the burden of the missions. At the end of the book, under the title "Renseignements Utiles", the author gives the aim of the Assumptionsts and their addresses in various countries where they may be found. (Leon Baisier.)

Raab, Father Clement, *The Twenty Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*. (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1937, pp. xiv, 226, $2.00.) Father Clement Raab may never fully realize the good he has done for others in the preparation of this timely volume. It is a concise survey and ready reference book on those "nerve centers in the mystical Body of Christ," as Father Plassmann in the introduction rightly styles the Twenty Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church. The Catholic college student, especially, will find these twenty chapters of untold value to him in grasping the secret of the conservatism and progressive adjustment of the Catholic Church. These résumés of the Ecumenical Councils give the great central truth stated by St. Paul in verses 19 to 20, Chapter II, of his Epistle to the Ephesians, that "now therefore you are no more strangers and foreigners; but you are fellow citizens with the Saints, and the domestics of God, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ, Himself, being the chief corner-

stone." The seminarian and those active in study club work will also find this delightfully readable treatise of great service in helping in appreciating the "magisterium, ministerium et imperium" of the Church. (L. L. McVAY.)

RANDALL, J. G., *The Civil War and Reconstruction.* (Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1937, pp. xvii, 959, $5.00.) The present reviewer inevitably approaches this book from his own personal background, a background which is a complex of early recollections, overlaid with later experiences, observations, and a somewhat uneven deposit of reading. One aspect of that background is starkly Rebel. The reviewer's first knowledge of the war came from the lips of his mother, and it concerned the three boys of her immediate family (the eldest under twenty, the youngest not yet fifteen) who had given their lives for the Southern Confederacy.

What we of the wider circle are most eager to know is whether the author has been diligent in his search for the facts, has assembled them with a reasonable degree of skill, to the end that their proper connotations may be preserved, has interpreted those facts in the spirit of a judicious and conscientious historian, and has not permitted his interpretations to be colored by the pigments of out-worn emotions. This reviewer is convinced that Professor Randall has done all these things. If he has not resolved every controversial question with a dogmatic yes or no, what of it? Some of those controversial questions will not be so resolved until Gabriel blows his horn; and even then, as likely as not, old "Reb" and old "Yank" will march by the reviewing-stand still arguing.

Indeed, the author states that his principal aim has been "to reproduce the feelings and problems of a civilization in a time of distortion, stress, and passion", avowing that he "has no nostrums to impose, no doctrines to disseminate". Though welcoming the newer interpretations, he nevertheless suspects that "some day the revisionists themselves may be revised". He even shies away from the doctrine of "economic determinism" which has gripped the minds of numerous latter-day historians, and refuses to be dominated by the dogma of an "irrepressible conflict". He intimates a belief that "the great American tragedy could have been avoided, supposing of course that something more of statesmanship, moderation, and understanding, and something less of professional patrioteering, slogan-making, face-saving, political clamoring, and propaganda had existed on both sides." As for the outcome, once the torrent of war had set in, neither side was able to control it for its own avowed purpose. The immediate result was what has been "misnamed 'reconstruction'", one of the "most deplorable" periods in American annals. (EDMUND C. BURNETT.)

RICH, E. E., *The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple.* [*Cambridge Studies in Economic History*, IV, General Editor, J. H. Clapham.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1937, pp. viii, 210, $4.50.) When the Staple Company ceased to exist in 1928, the British Museum acquired its records. This enabled the editor to investigate the Ordinance Book of 1565 which is here printed for the first time together with a scholarly introduction (pp. 1-102). The Staple Company, shown by

these ordinances to have been "the archetype of regulated company" (p. 90), had largely controlled the English wool trade by the end of the middle ages. A combination of circumstances, culminating in the loss of Calais, the Company's headquarters, caused the decline of the Company in the sixteenth century. Since economic developments materially affected English government policy both domestic and foreign, the book has a wider interest than the title might indicate. Moreover, the discussion of a Spanish attempt to crush England by economic pressure and thus bring her back to Catholicism will be of particular interest to the readers of this REVIEW. The attempted re-establishment of the Company at Bruges in 1565 was the occasion for the drawing up of these ordinances. Their significance, the editor feels "lies not in the rules which they set up for a Company already decayed... It is the retrospective light which the ordinances cast on the former practices of the Company which is valuable" (p. 63). The volume is a worthy addition to the *Cambridge Studies in Economic History*. (MARSHALL W. BALDWIN.)

RICHARDSON, LYON N., *The American Magazine or a Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies*. Reproduced from the Original Edition, Philadelphia, 1741, with a Bibliographical Note by Lyon N. Richardson. (New York, published for the Facsimile Text Society by Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 120, $2.00.) Andrew Bradford, publisher of the first magazine to appear in the American colonies, took the honor from Benjamin Franklin by the narrow margin of three days. The *American Magazine* appeared February 13, 1740/1; Franklin's *General Magazine* on February 16. Bradford also took from Franklin his editor, John Webbe. But three issues of this first magazine appeared: no number for April has ever been found. The contents of the three issues here reproduced are devoted to the assembly proceedings of several colonies, the affairs of Europe, an account of the war with Spain, some political and economic essays, and the "Wiles of Popery as exemplifyed in a Dialogue between a Roman Casuist and an Itinerary Missionary". The *American Magazine* is rare; files, all incomplete, are to be found in only three libraries. The January edition is here facsimiled from the copy in the John Carter Brown Library; the February issue and most of that for March are reproduced from copies in the New York Historical Society, while the last four pages of the March printing are taken from the Library of Congress copy. Mr. Richardson's prefatory note is valuable for the account it gives of the controversy between Bradford and Franklin, for its sketch of Webbe the editor, and for the bibliographical data it contains concerning this rare publication. (L. F. STOCK.)

ROUSSEL-LÉPINE, J., *Monseigneur Marbeau, Évêque de Meaux, 1844-1921*. (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1935, pp. 8, 225.) A biography of the celebrated Bishop of Meaux who in the dark days of the World War took over the direction of the civic affairs of Meaux after the city had been deserted by the civil authorities. The volume contains neither index nor indication of sources. (THOMAS F. O'CONNOR.)

RUSSELL, JOSIAH COX, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England. (Being Special Supplement No. 3 to the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.)* (London, New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1936, pp. x, 210.) The purpose of this work is to furnish scholars with all available information, or with a guide to such information, about all writers of 13th century England. Writers of the vernacular as well as of Latin are included, making a total of about three hundred fifty names. On the whole, the work has been done carefully and critically and constitutes a valuable biographical and bibliographical tool for mediaevalists. There is a good critical review of the book by Professor J. S. P. Tatlock in *Speculum,* XII (1937), 413. (M. R. P. MCGUIRE.)

SPENCER, HENRY RUSSELL, *Government and Politics Abroad.* [American Political Science Series.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1936, pp. 558, $2.80.) Professor Spencer has compressed a great amount of varied information within the compass of comparatively few pages. This student text-book includes chapters on the governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations, France, the Soviet Union, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, the Succession States, Latin America and Japan, and a final chapter on international administration. Though brief, it provides within the covers of one volume a handy and necessary cross-section of various governmental practices in vogue in this modern world of ours. (JOHN J. MENG.)

SCHWEITZER, ALBERT, *Indian Thought and its Development.* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1936, pp. 272.) This is a critical examination of Indian (Hindu) philosophy and not a detailed study of the vast subject by a western scholar interested in the problem of "how man can attain to spiritual union with the infinite", which is one of the central inquiries of Hindu philosophy. In order to carry out this end, the author has attempted to quote an appraisal of the teachings of various schools of Hindu philosophy — Upanishads, the Sankhya Doctrine, Jainism, Buddhism with its various aspects, the Bhagabat Gita, and modern Indian thought as expounded by Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Gandhi and others. If a student of philosophy can free himself from the conception that there is a special brand of "oriental" thought which is opposed to "occidental" thought, then much of the popular confusion of estimate of Indian thought may be removed; and thus without bias one may make an accurate judgment of its merits and demerits on the basis of its spiritual and ethical ideals or man's attitude towards life and the world. The author seems to have attempted to study Indian thought with this spirit; he recognises the fact that "there are two great fundamental problems common to all thought": the problem of world and life affirmation and world and life negation, and the problem of ethics and the relations between ethics and these two forms of man's spiritual attitude to Being." He further adds that he was "compelled to admit the fact that the world and life affirmation is present at the back of this (Hindu) thought from the very dawn of its history, and that the existence and interfusion within it of world and life negation and world and life affirmation constitute its special characteristic and determine its development." This is true with all thoughts,

Greco-Roman, Christian and others. In spite of this breath of vision the author has at times over-emphasised the negative aspects of Hindu thought and even doubted that the active, vigorous and positive thoughts of Tagore which emphasise the universal aspects of life, could be based upon the ancient Indian thought. This is apparently the author's weakness. One must not forget that ancient Hindus never minimised the importance and reality of life. They emphasised the laws of Karma, which might be well compared with the laws of causation and succession as expounded by Kant. They laid the foundation of the ethical life of man on the sound doctrine of "man must reap the result of his work." Some Hindu philosophers believed in Divine dispensation but they were not fatalists in the ordinary sense of the word, because they agreed to the doctrine that by "good acts, results of evil actions can be counteracted." Man cannot escape the fruits of his work and he will have to be re-born, until he achieves perfection. This is the basis of the doctrine of reincarnation. There was no denial of life for any man; but the ethical standard of the Hindus emphasised that one should deny lower aspirations and desires to further higher and spiritual aspects of life. Therefore Hindu ethics did not advocate passivity; on the contrary it emphasised the need of unceasing activity to ennoble one's own self. While disagreeing with some of the conclusions of the author in his appraisals of Indian thought, I regard the book as an excellent critical work on the subject. (TARAKNATH DAS.)

THOMAS, SISTER M. EVANGELINE, *Nativism in the Old Northwest, 1850–1860.* (Washington, The Catholic University of America, 1936, pp. vi, 270.) Nativism, the movement which swept the country in the forties and fifties of the last century, probably derived from the natural impulse to protect American republican institutions from the real or fancied danger involved in an enormous influx of immigrants from the despotisms of the Old World. At any rate, it existed before the Catholic population became a consideration in the United States. It early, however, took on an anti-Catholic bias, for a great part of the newcomers were Catholics, especially Germans and Irish, and they were rapidly increasing the percentage of Catholics in the nation. This anti-Catholic feeling was intensified by evangelical publications and preaching, and not infrequently by apostates from the Catholic Church. The Nativistic movement reached its greatest power in the eastern states, but because of the need of immigration and the great foreign population already settled there, it never became more than a minority party in the Northwest Territory. It was to some extent carried into the West by a migrating population, many of whom were laborers who felt themselves aggrieved because displaced by immigrant laborers in the East. In the West the movement was joined by many conservatives who resented the lenient suffrage laws of the states, and by many farmers antagonized by the occupation of the most desirable lands by immigrant Swedes and Germans. To these were added all those who resented the growth of the Catholic Church. The Native-American party became an element in the elections of 1854, 1855 and 1856, but after a crushing defeat in the presidential election of 1856, it rapidly passed out of existence.

The author, in this dissertation presented to the faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America, as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, traces the course of migration into the Old Northwest Territory in the two decades preceding the Civil War. Then, against the political background of the time, she gives us the history of Nativism in that section from the first beginnings of nativistic hostility to foreigners and Catholics through its zenith in the middle fifties to its final decline and almost total disappearance at the close of the period. The work should be a valuable contribution to the history of the era of agitation against "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." The author's primary sources are the newspapers, the speeches and debates, and the personal papers of prominent men of the time. She also manifests a wide acquaintanceship with the literature already published on the period. The book contains two appendices, an extensive bibliography, and a good index. (HAROLD J. BOLTON.)

THOMPSON, JAMES WESTFALL (Ed.), *The Letters and Documents of Armand de Gontaut, Baron de Biron, Marshal of France (1524–1592)*, collected by the late Sidney Hellman Ehrman, M.A. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1936, pp. liii, 809, in two volumes, $7.50.) These two volumes include all the available manuscript material by Biron to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives Nationales and the departmental archives of France, as collected by the late Sidney Hellman Ehrman, a young scholar who died before completing his twenty-fifth year. The documents here published were to have been the basis of a full-length biography of the great military captain of sixteenth-century France—that Marshal Biron who played such an important rôle in the wars of religion. Mr. Ehrman enlarged the mass of his French documentary evidence by researches in the British Museum and the Public Record Office, and in the Vatican Library. It is interesting to note that the late Monsignor George L. Lacombe, research professor of the Catholic University of America, was Mr. Ehrman's "inspiration in this work." The papers themselves have been most capably edited by Professor Thompson, whose introductory sketch of Biron's life aids materially in tying together the loose ends that invariably characterize a collection of documents. Volume I includes, in addition to the prefatory material, the correspondence of Biron from June, 1557, to May, 1586. Volume II continues this correspondence to June, 1592, and prints in addition documents relating to Biron, July, 1543, to November, 1591, documents relating to the Gontaut family, 1536-1598, Biron's money receipts, a list of published Biron letters and a bibliography. The work is beautifully printed and well illustrated, but has no index. (JOHN J. MENG.)

WHITELAW, WILLIAM MENZIES, *The Maritimes and Canada Before Confederation*. (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xi, 328, $3.50.) Upper and Lower Canada, consisting respectively of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, had been joined by the Act of Union of 1840 under a single parliament whose government lacked stability. The maritime provinces of New

Brunswick and Nova Scotia and also of Prince Edward Island (although the latter had the status of a colony) were making attempts to confederate among themselves. At the suggestion of Canada negotiations were undertaken to bring the maritimes into a wider confederation with Canada. The result was the British North America Act of 1867, under which was established the Dominion of Canada. New Foundland whose chief commercial contacts were with the outside world remained outside the Dominion. This book is an account of maritime problems and conditions concentrating on "the struggle between an incipient nationalism and a rugged particularism" in the maritime colonies. The work is well done. There are five maps and an extensive bibliography. (P. G.)

WILLIAMS, A. LUKYN, Honorable Canon of Ely, *Adversus Judaeos, A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance.* (Cambridge [England], The University Press, 1935, pp. xviii, 428, $9.00.) The purpose of this book is to discuss briefly a number of treatises written by Christians in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages to defend Christianity against Jewish attacks and at the same time, through the indication of the errors of Judaism, to win Jews for the Christian Faith. After a short introduction, the material proper is presented under these main divisions: *Book I. The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Book II. The Syriac Writers, Book III. Greek Writers (A.D. 325–1455), Book IV. Spanish Writers, Book V. Latin Writers* (c. *A.D. 334–1349*). In the case of each treatise discussed, there is a brief account of the authorship, circumstances and date of composition, of the contents, and of the apologetic method employed. The important *Contra Judaeos* of St. Isidore of Seville is analysed in full detail (pp. 282-292). The book is beautifully printed and well indexed. Canon Williams has shown a wide and thorough knowledge of his subject, but he has not been happy in the arrangement of his material and in the treatment of the latter in its totality. Thus, for the period from the Council of Nicaea to the close of the Middle Ages, we find the Syriac writers, Greek writers, Latin writers of Spain, and all Latin writers outside of Spain treated in four unbroken divisions. Except perhaps in the instance of the Syriac writers, there is no justification whatever for this arrangement. The Greek writers from the fourth century to St. John Damascene at least should not be so completely isolated from their Latin contemporaries, and to label Prudentius, Isidore, etc., as "Spanish Writers" and to discuss them in complete separation from Evagrius, Augustine, etc., is to do violence to the historical unity of ancient and early mediaeval Christian Latin literature and thought. As a result of the author's present arrangement, we have a relatively disconnected series of studies on the treatises selected for investigation. There is not, nor could there be, much emphasis placed on the interrelations of treatises and on the question of the influences of earlier upon later writers. The situation might have been saved somewhat, had the author written, not a brief *Epilogue,* but a good final chapter containing a detailed evaluation of the material viewed as a whole. Such a synthetic treatment would have greatly added to the value of a book which in itself is a welcome and useful contribution. The following minor criti-

cisms are offered. P. 66 (note 2): the Greek word *βασιλέα* should be rendered "Emperor" here, not "King." Pp. 93 ff.: on Aphrahat and Ephraim reference ought to be made to the excellent treatment in Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. iv, 327-375. P. 141: I am inclined to accept Bardenhewer's opinion (vol. v, p. 25) that the treatises ascribed to Gregentius are spurious and belong to a much later period than the fifth century. P. 158: the use of "monkish" for "monastic" is hardly in good taste. P. 166, line 17: for *Nicomedia in Cyprus* read *Neapolis in Cyprus*. Pp. 206 ff.: on the Jews in Spain to the end of the Visigothic Kingdom, see now especially the solid monograph of S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Paul*, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1937. P. 222: The second part of the statement, "The Christian apologists themselves did not understand the inner teachings of Judaism or of Christ," certainly needs qualification. P. 223: here and in one or two other places the author shows that curious lack of sympathy in discussing the Spanish Church which is still met with too often in English Protestant writers. P. 296: Dom Morin has shown pretty conclusively in his recent edition of the *Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii* (*Florilegium Patristicum*, Fasc. xxxix, Bonn, 1935) that this work is to be assigned to Firmicus Maternus. Therefore it was composed c. 360 A.D. rather than c. 384 A.D. Nowhere in the book have I found a reference to the Latin adaptations of Josephus, the so-called *Hegesippus*, which has been assigned to St. Ambrose, but not on sufficient grounds. Yet this work is clearly directed against the Jews. While Canon Williams apparently did not intend to discuss all treatises *adversus Judaeos*, it is a pity that he did not at least furnish a complete list of all such treatises down to the close of the Middle Ages. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.)

WOOD, H. G., *Christianity and the Nature of History*. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xxxv, 224, $2.50.) This attractive volume presents the six Hulsean Lectures which Dr. Wood delivered in the School of Divinity at Cambridge, England, during the autumn term of 1933. As stated in the opening lecture, Dr. Wood proposes "to examine some important questions involved in the fact that Christianity is definitely an historic faith" (p. 4). He approaches his theme with no "strictly denominational angle" (p. x), then examines the various types of historical interpretation, and reaches the conclusion that alone in every respect satisfactory to mind and heart of man is the theistic interpretation as embodied in Christianity. As he sees it—and rightly so—"only on a theistic view of the universe has history its true significance" (p. 205) in so far as through "the historic Jesus and the eternal Christ" (p. 208) alone the realities of history have meaning and value. As Dr. Wood shows in the course of the lectures, fundamentally opposed to this Christian interpretation of history and untenable from the standpoint of science are the various types based in final analysis on either rationalism or materialism. (F. B. S.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

L'histoire critique de l'Ancien Testament: III, les Perspectives d'Avenir. J. Coppens (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July-August).

Il problema dell'Arte christiana nell'Africa settentrionale. Archbishop Constantini (*Il Pensiero Missionario*, June).

Christianity, Peace and War. Michael de la Bedoyere (*Dublin Review*, July).

The Stigmata of Saint Francis. Alfred O'Rahilly (*Studies*, June).

New Documents on Early Protestant Rationalism. Roland H. Bainton (*Church History*, June).

Don Vasco de Zueroga. Jesús Garcia Gutiérrez (*Christus*, August).

EUROPEAN

The Growth of National Sentiment in France before the Fifteenth Century. Dorothy Kirkland (*History*, June).

Archbishop Alexander Le Roy, C.S.Sp. George J. Collins (*International Review*, July).

Father de Ravignan's Power and Secret as a Preacher. George Burns (*Clergy Review*, August).

BRITISH EMPIRE

Alban Butler. Herbert Thurston (*Month*, July).

Medieval University of S. Patrick's, Dublin. Aubrey Gwynn (*Studies*, June).

UNITED STATES

Father Joseph Anthony Lutz, Pioneer Priest (1801-1861), I. John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, April, July-August).

The First American Bishop in China (Athanasius Goette, O.F.M., 1857-1908). Marion Habig, O.F.M. (*Annals of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart*, April).

Thomas FitzSimons. Richard J. Purcell (*Studies*, June).

Le Folk-Lore français du Missouri. Monsignor Camille Roy (*Canada Français*, June). A review of Professor Joseph-Medard Carrière's *Tales*.

The Settlement of the Church Property Cases in Puerto Rico. David A. Lockmiller (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, May).

First Catholic Church in Milwaukee: St. Peter's, 1839—. Peter Leo Johnson (*Salesianum*, July).

Edward A. Pace, Leo R. Ward (*Commonweal*, June 17).

Story of the Church in Mississippi. Most Rev. R. O. Gerow (*Catholic Action*, August).

The United States and Documentary Historical Publication. Clarence E. Carter (*Miss. Valley Hist. Review*, June).

BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Mention here does not preclude extended notice in the REVIEW.*)

Abbott, Wilbur Cortez, *The Expansion of Europe—A Social and Political History of the Modern World: 1415-1815* (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1938, pp. xxx, 517, $5.00).

This is the second revised edition of a popular textbook, though it is not written exclusively for the student in the classroom. No better synthesis of modern, as divided from contemporary, history could be found than this satisfactory survey. Catholic readers may not agree with the interpretation of some of the factors involved.

Americana illustrated (New York: The American Historical Society, 1937-1938, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, January, 1938, pp. 231, No. 2, April, 1938, pp. 1-417, No. 3, July, 1938, pp. 425-613.) The *Americana* is a quarterly magazine of history, genealogy, heraldry, literature and industrial history. It is handsomely illustrated.

Annotated Bibliography of the Polar Regions. Series B: *Selected List of Bibliographies of the Polar Regions,* Part I (New York: U. S. Works Progress Administration, 1938, pp. 41). The *List* will be supplemented bi-monthly until the field is completely covered. This will be followed by a list of Russian bibliographies. The work is being done under James Ferrell, Technical Supervisor.

Auvergne, Dominique, *Regards Catholiques sur le Monde* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1938, pp. 146).

Brosch, Joseph, *Der Heiligsprechungsprozess per viam Cultus* (Rome, Gregorian University, 1938, pp. xi, 1317).

Coffey, Diarmid, *Douglas Hyde, President of Ireland* (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1938, pp. 152, 3.6.net).

Confrey, Burton, *Initiating Research in Catholic Schools* (Manchester, N. H.: Magnificat Press, 1938, pp. 168).

Corrigan, Raymond, S. J., *The Church and the Nineteenth Century* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1938, pp. xviii, 326, $3.50).

Crittenden, Charles C., and Lacy, Dan, Editors, *The Historical Records of North Carolina.* Vol. II, *The County Records, Craven through Moore* (Raleigh: N. C. Historical Commission, 1938, pp. x, 568).

Delanglez, Jean, *The Journal of Jean Cavelier* (Chicago: Loyola University Institute of Jesuit History, 1938, pp. 179, $2.50).

Dols, J. M. E., *Bibliographie der Moderne Devotie,* part 2 (Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij, 1937, pp. 64). The second part (J. M. *Acket*—J. A. *Zunggo*) of a carefully selected bibliography of works on modern spiritual subjects, usually styled "The Modern Devotion," by the assistant librarian of the Royal University Library of Niemegen.

Eagan, James Michael, *Maximilien Roberspierre: Nationalist Dictator* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 242, $2.75).

Edwards, Everett, Editor, *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1938, pp. xi, 316, $3.50).

Garrett, Christina Hallowell, *The Marian Exiles: A Study of the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. ix, 388, $6.50).

Gilbert, Dan, *Our Chameleon Comrades—The Reds Turn Yellow* (San Diego, Cal.: Danielle Publishing Company, 1938, pp. 175, $1.00, paper $.75).

Habig, Marion, O.F.M., *The Franciscan Martyrs of North America* (Quincy, Ill.: Quincy College, 1938, pp. 57, $.50).

Hopper, Vincent Foster, *Medieval Number Symbolism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 241, $2.50).

Huber, Raphael M., O.M.Conv., *The Portiuncula Indulgence, from Honorius to Pius XI* [Franciscan Studies, Volume XIX.] (New York: Joseph W. Wagner, 1938, pp. xxii, 207, $2.00).

Jackson, C., *The Life of Chevalier Jackson, an Autobiography* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. x, 229, $3.50).

Jordan, W. K., *The Development of Religious Toleration in England: 1640-1660* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. 560, $5.00).

Jorgensen, Johannes, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, transl. from the Danish by Ingeborg Lund (New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1938, pp. ix, 446, $3.50).

Koch, Anton, *Homiletisches Handbuch*, Erste Abteilung: *Homiletisches Quellenwerk, stoffquellen für Predigt und christliche Unterweisung*, Zweiter Band, dritter teil, *Die Lehre vom Gottesreich der Kirche*, Vierter teil *Die Lehre vom Gottesleben der Gnade* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1938, pp. vii, 487, $4.75).

Koesters, Ludwig, S.J., *The Church: Its Divine Authority*, transl. by Edwin G. Kaiser, C.PP.S. (St. Louis: Herder, 1938, pp. xi, 342, $3.00).

Linfield, H. S., *The State Population Census by Faiths: Meaning, Reliability and Value* (New York: Hasid's Bibliographic and Library Service, 1938, pp. 69).

A valuable pamphlet which gives an answer to the problem: Should a State include a question in its population Census, with a view to enumerating the population by religious affiliation?

Loane, Helen Jefferson, *Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome (50 B. C.—200 A. D.)* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LVI, No. 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, pp. 158).

Lydekker, John Wolfe, *The Faithful Mohawks* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. xiii, 206, $3.75).

Manross, William Wilson, *The Episcopal Church in the United States: 1800-1840* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 270, $3.25).

McNeill, John T., and Gamer, Helena M., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, No. XXIX.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 476, $4.75).

Munoz, Honorio, O.P., *Vitoria and the Conquest of America* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1938, pp. 220, $2.00).

Melanges Marmion (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie., 1938, pp. 244).

Monumenta Ignatiana, Series Tertia, *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, Tomus Tertius, *Textus Latinus* (Rome: Borgo S. Spirito, 5, 1938, pp. clii, 368).

Moore, Ernest Carroll, *The Story of Instruction: The Beginnings* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. 380, $3.00).

——, *The Story of Instruction: The Church, the Renaissances, and the Reformations* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 8, 575, $3.00).

Nevins, Allen, *The Gateway to History* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1938, pp. vii, 412, $3.00) .

Oliphant, James H., *Oliphant's Studies in Securities, Supplement, Economic Chronology, 1931-1938* (New York: James H. Oliphant and Company, 1938, pp. 212).

Pastor, Ludwig, Freiherr von, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. (St. Louis: Herder, 1938, Vols. XXVII, XXIX, *Gregory XV. and Urban VIII., 1621-1644*, $5.00 each volume).

Peil, Dr. Rudolf, *Lernet den Christusglauben kennen, Werkbuch* (Freiburg im B.: Herder, 1938, xix, 251, $2.25).

Richardson, Cyril Charles, *The Church Through the Centuries* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938, pp. x, 255, $2.50).